

IN THESE TIMES

The Wild Horses
Page 12



Vol. 2, No. 10

January 25-31, 1978

40 Cents

Green light for Bella

Judge carts off heavy Burden,
or heaves off Carter Burden

Can workers run Youngstown Steel?

They hope to try

Puerto Ricans going home

Bad times on the mainland

West Germany lurches rightward

While "terrorism" grows

THE LAST OF THE OLD-TIME LIBERALS

Page 13

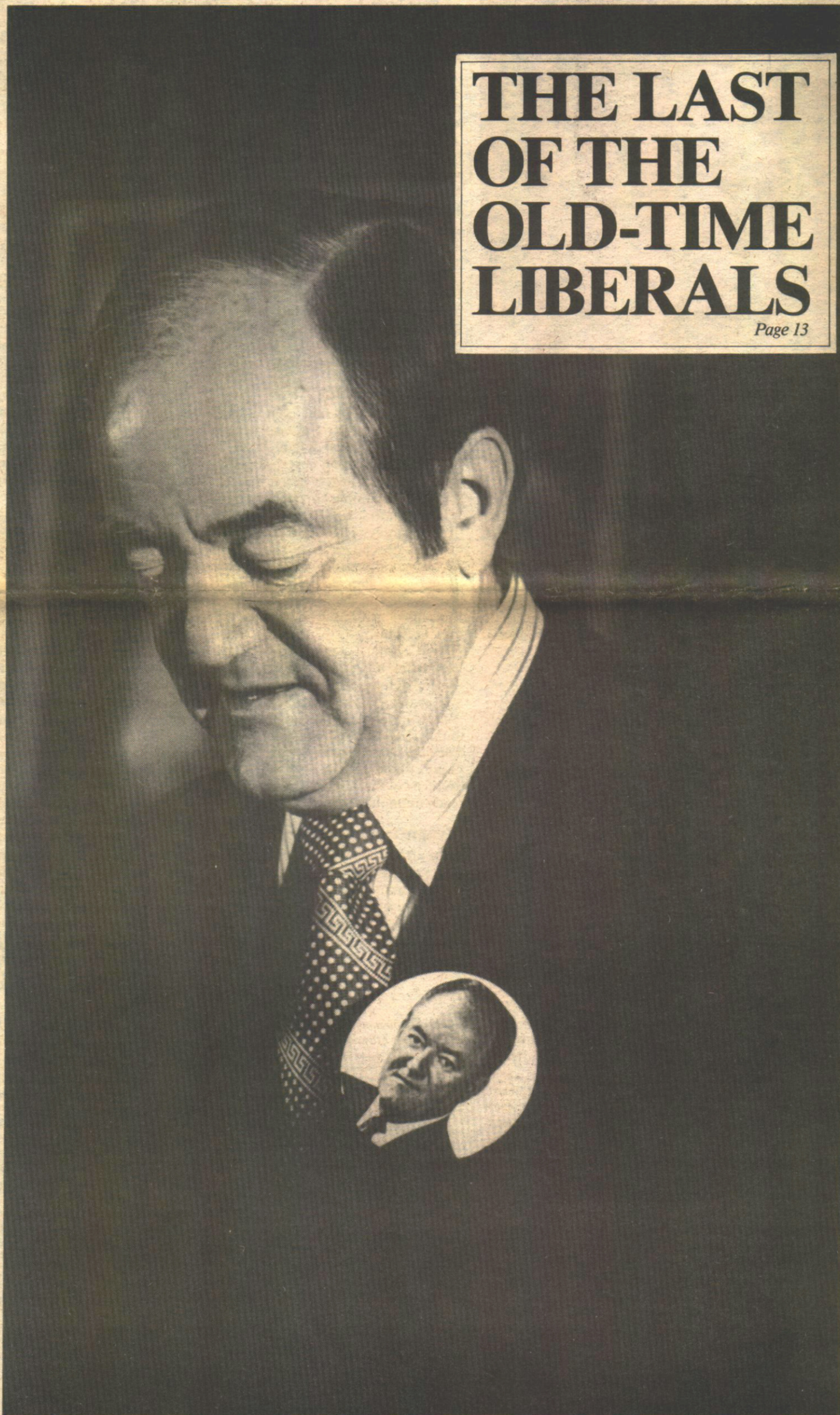


Photo by Ken Light

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by James Aronson



John F. Kennedy

The CIA and the U.S. press: the fallout over blowback

The following article first appeared in the Perspective section of the *Baltimore Sun* on Jan. 8. James Aronson, a regular contributor to *IN THESE TIMES*, is a professor of communications at Hunter College. He is the author of *The Press and the Cold War*, and co-author with Cedric Belfrage of *Something to Guard*, a history of the *National Guardian*, which they founded in 1948. That book will be published in the spring by Columbia University Press.

Semantics and spookery have developed into major disciplines of late. The recent revelations in the *New York Times* of the interplay between the Central Intelligence Agency and the American media, therefore, may be remembered primarily for having introduced a new word into the language of the intelligence community. The word is "blowback," and it bids fair to replace "destabilization" as the vogue word for 1978.

Blowback, according to the CIA's chief semanticists, occurs when a news story or news analysis with false information deliberately planted by the CIA in publications abroad (usually under CIA control) floats across oceans and mountains and is "replayed" or appears as "domestic fallout" in publications in the U.S. This is unfortunate, the agency says, but often inevitable: "It hits where it hits."

The *Times* series—blowback and all—hit the American media broadside. Not much was brand new, but the detail and documentation, for this observer, were devastating in their implications for the traditional adversarial relationship between the American press and the American government.

This edition published January 25 for newsstand sales January 25-31, 1978.

The series confirmed the findings of Carl Bernstein's article, "The CIA and the Media," in the Oct. 20, 1977, issue of *Rolling Stone*, and earlier reports by Stuart Loory in the *Columbia Journalism Review*.

Blowback ethics.

The *Times* articles established without possible contradiction that the CIA for 30 years has been engaged in an "unremitting" effort to shape foreign opinion in support of American policy abroad. It has at various times owned 50 newspapers, news services, radio stations and periodicals as "cover" organizations. A dozen American publishing houses, some "witting," some not, have printed 250 books in the English language paid for by the CIA. More than 100 news people (American) have doubled as salaried CIA operatives while scores more worked for free.

A dozen full-time CIA personnel worked as "reporters" with witting accreditation from the news organizations they "represented." Finally, 18 news people spurned lucrative offers from the CIA. All in all, the "Propaganda Assets Inventory" of the CIA encompassed more than 800 news and public information organizations and individuals.

Now for the blowback theory. Somehow it seems to have become accepted that all this "inventory" was permissible so long as it did not get unloaded on the American public—the CIA, after all, was forbidden by its franchise in 1947 from tampering with the American mind. Some of the practices did tend to make for squeamish situations, since we clearly were in the business of lying, but then only foreigners were involved, so no great harm. Further, we were at war with the "international Communist conspiracy," and surely any true-blue American journalist would want to lend a hand in the patriotic cause.

On April 27, 1961, immediately after the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba, President Kennedy told a convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York: "We are opposed around the world by a monolithic and ruthless conspiracy that relies primarily on covert means for expanding its sphere of influence."

A 30-year record.

Of course the CIA had been in charge of the Bay of Pigs disaster, and President Kennedy's comment may seem doubly ironical in light of the *Times*' exposure of the CIA's continuing covert activities. But the significance of the Kennedy speech was that it was aiming at the American public through the publishers.

I believe that for 30 years the CIA has been doing the same thing. The success of American policy abroad does not depend on its full acceptance by public opinion abroad; it depends on its acceptance by public opinion at home. The cold war propaganda battle was not for the "hearts and minds" of Russians, Cubans, Koreans, Vietnamese or Chileans; it was for the hearts and minds of Americans.

That's what Senator Joe McCarthy was all about. McCarthyism was not a by-product of the cold war. It was the domestic instrument of the cold war nourished and sustained (with some honorable exceptions) by the American media—until it became an embarrassment to the administration. All glory to Edward R. Murrow's splendid confrontations with McCarthy on CBS television. But it came in 1954, when the mark of oblivion, decreed by the sainted President Eisenhower, was already upon the senator.

Myopic team loyalty.

Soon after the advance news stories about Carl Bernstein's article last fall, Miles Copeland, the former CIA official, wrote in a letter to the *Times*: "May I let your readers in on a little secret? To my knowledge, every American correspondent serving in the Middle East or

Africa from 1947 up to the witch-hunts of 1975 and 1976 qualified as a 'CIA agent' according to Carl Bernstein's definition. You see, contrary to the current trend, foreign correspondents in those good old days were on our side...."

Despite the arrogant assumption of this remark, there is no doubt that many correspondents were motivated by myopic team loyalty and a journalistic herd concept that caused them to shed a natural skepticism about official policy pronouncements. In fact, the history of modern international reporting by Americans is littered with the husks of those who accepted without investigation the official version of American policy. Unfortunately, many of these husks were restuffed and placed upright to repeat their blunders.

Guided or misguided patriotism aside, there is an old-fashioned matter of ethics and morality involved. It is clear to all aware journalists that the CIA was and is a purveyor of false and misleading information. How valid then is a nation's policy that must depend on such practices? What must be acknowledged here also is that the CIA is not an isolated phenomenon but an integral part of the American policy-making apparatus.

The First Amendment imposes upon all American journalists an obligation to expose all false and misleading information, no matter who the purveyor—the President of the United States or a director of the CIA who lies to a committee of Congress.

A cool response.

It should be a time of indignation among journalists, but there is no hint of any in a commentary on the *Times*' Op Ed page (Dec. 18, 1977) by Stanley Karnow: "We know, of course, that the CIA recruited members of the press for various purposes. Back in the early 1950s, in fact, a senior agency official made me an offer that, happily, I was able to refuse—not out of ethical motives, but because, I recall, a double life would have confused my existence. I presume that other newsmen acted differently."

I find that remarkably cool—not precisely the attitude I seek to instill in budding journalists.

History has demonstrated that in the cold war years we were often engaged in a "common struggle" for the suppression of freedom in the name of freedom. Neither the policy-makers nor the press will ever come to grips with history—or themselves—until they examine the basic assumptions that underlay the policies of the cold war and, to my mind, still underlie American policy.

If that day ever comes, we might declare ourselves a national day of celebration to mark the end of administrative humbuggery—and journalistic blowbackery.

Postscript

On the final day of its CIA series (Dec. 27, 1977) the *New York Times* expressed itself thus in an editorial entitled "The Reporter and the Spy":

"To understand the collaborations of the past, it is useful to remember the context in which they developed...As these contacts developed in the years of the bitter Cold War hostilities, American journalists and officials grew to feel that they were natural allies in a common struggle for freedom."

The *Times* expressed itself similarly last summer in seeking mitigating circumstances for the revealed collaboration between officials of the American Civil Liberties Union and the FBI in the 1950s. But it won't wash. In the first place, the current leadership of the ACLU denounced the past practice as reprehensible and pledged never to permit it again. In the second place, the press-CIA collaboration continued into the 1970s and probably is in place today, or will be again soon. ■

IN THESE TIMES



Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Doyle Niemann, Managing Editor, John Judis, Foreign News, Janet Stevenson, Culture, Dan Marschall, David Moberg, National Staff, Diana Johnstone, Foreign Correspondent, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm, Library.

ART

Kerry Tremain, Art Director, Nori Davis, Assistant Art Director, Jim Rinnert, Composition, Jane Melnick, Camera, Ken Firestone, Jane Melnick, Photographers.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-pub-

lishers, Nick Rabkin, General Manager, Ellen Deirdre Murphy, Advertising/Business, Ed Starr, Promotion & Development, Mary Elaine Jans, Office.

BUREAUS

LOS ANGELES: Bob Gottlieb, David Talbot and David Lindorff, 437 28th Ave., Venice, CA 90291, (213) 931-9351.
SAN FRANCISCO: Chris Dorr, 140 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 626-7897.
SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 861-1689.
NEW YORK: Dick Bucklin, George Carrano, 131 East 15th St., New York, NY 10003, (212) 673-7270, 865-7638.
BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugenie D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs, Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of *IN THESE TIMES* is copyright © 1977 by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to *IN THESE TIMES*, Circulation Department. Subscriptions are \$15 annually. Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *IN THESE TIMES* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. *IN THESE TIMES* subscribes to the following: Africa News Service, Congressional Quarterly News Service, Editorial Research Reports, Gemini News Service, Internews, Liberation News Service, Pacific News Service, Peoples Translation Service. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

Guns and butter Hubert

When Hubert H. Humphrey died earlier this month, virtually all commentators recognized that his passing was the passing of an era. Even before his election to the Senate almost 30 years ago, Humphrey had begun to play his role in American politics as one of the chief champions of the modern American warfare-welfare state.

Born in 1911 to the family of a small town druggist in South Dakota, Humphrey absorbed his liberalism from his father. Hubert Sr. was an active Democrat in a sea of rural Republicanism, but that didn't dampen his enthusiasm for Democratic party politics.

Humphrey entered the University of Minnesota in 1929, and after a decade of Depression-interrupted attendance graduated *magna cum laude* in 1939. He then went to Louisiana State University for a Master's degree. There he met the LSU student body president, Russell Long.

M.A. in hand Humphrey returned to a WPA job training adult education teachers in Duluth.

Returning to Minneapolis, Humphrey held several other WPA jobs during the early '40s, where he acquired contacts in the Minnesota labor movement that were to serve him well later on.

Tradition of agrarian radicalism.

Humphrey's personal career took place against a backdrop of the Midwest's tradition of agrarian radicalism. Minnesota experienced its share of support for Populism in the 1890s, but the state's first sustained left was the Non-Partisan League, formed in North Dakota in 1915 by ex-Socialist A.C. Townley.

The League's approach was to run candidates in the primaries of the state's dominant party, thereby capturing both the party and the state. The Minnesota NPLers followed that strategy until 1918, when suppression by the regular Republicans and defeat in the primary prompted them to form a Farmer-Labor Association and run a third ticket.

From that point on the main contest in Minnesota was between the Republicans and the Farmer-Laborites, with the Democrats a poor third.

By the mid-'30s the Communists were a major force within the FLP which grew in strength until it elected Floyd Olson governor in 1936.

Although in the early '30s there was some talk of establishing a national Farmer-Labor party, by 1936 the New Deal had stolen much of the Farmer-Laborites'

thunder.

In Minnesota, the FLP supported Roosevelt's re-election bid in return for the withdrawal of Democratic candidates for state office. This cooperation, which had been discussed throughout the '30s, accelerated after Floyd Olson died in August 1936.

The tendency toward Democrat-FLP cooperation was also facilitated by the Communists' Popular Front strategy, which put the issue of socialism on the back burner and gave unlimited support to Roosevelt and the war effort.

Declining Farmer-Labor fortunes.

When Olson died he was succeeded by Lt. Governor Hjalmar Petersen of the party's right wing. However, Elmer Benson of the CP-dominated left wing got the nod for the governor's seat in November 1936.

Two years later Petersen challenged Gov. Benson in a bloody, red-baiting primary contest. Benson won, but lost the general election to a resurgent GOP led by the then boy-wonder, Harold Stassen—who ran on the most progressive Republican platform seen in Minnesota before or since.

Benson's defeat was the final blow to FLP independence. Faced with declining electoral fortunes, cooptation by the New Deal, defection of its anti-Democrat faction to the Republicans, and strong Communist support for unification, top FLP officials began merger discussions with the Democrats in the early '40s.

Humphrey made his first try for public office in these circumstances when he ran for mayor of Minneapolis in 1943. He lost, but ran again and won in 1945—this time with the support of the newly-formed Democratic Farmer-Labor party (DFL).

Recent wire-service histories to the contrary, Humphrey had little to do with the creation of the DFL.

Purging the right.

In 1946, when the DFL held its first post-unification convention, the Farmer-Laborites dominated the proceedings—even the declining FLP was much bigger than the Democrats. Although the DFL state central committee elected at the convention was theoretically balanced between left and right, the balance of power was held by Orville Freeman and Eugenie Anderson, two "neutral" committee members who turned out to be heavily pro-Humphrey.

The right faction, led by Humphrey, thus managed to win control of the DFL hierarchy. But it still faced a strong left contingent, spear-headed by the Com-



As early as 1948 Humphrey (above with Sen. Edmund Muskie, a leading rival for presidential ambition) was chided about his political climbing act, prompting him to remark, "I thought lack of ambition was sinful and that a politician without it was ready for retirement."

munists.

With the Cold War heating up Communist presence in the DFL would have been an increasingly costly liability, and Humphrey and others decided that the left would have to be purged.

Between 1946 and 1948 Humphrey prepared for the ouster of the Farmer-Laborites from the DFL. In the meantime, the internal struggle heightened the independent presidential candidacy of Henry A. Wallace. The Communists had abandoned their Popular Front strategy of working within the Democratic party and had become the driving force behind the Wallace candidacy.

It appeared that the 1948 presidential race between Truman and Dewey would be extremely close—that a single state might make the difference. So the 1948 Minnesota DFL convention opened with the presidency itself hanging in the balance.

By all accounts, the 1948 DFL convention was one of the dirtiest in recent American history: the Humphrey-led right was determined to throw out the left and carry the state for Truman; the left aimed to use its strength to capture the convention and have the DFL endorse Wallace for president, thereby freezing Truman out of Minnesota.

Through their control of the state central committee, the right was able to block the seating of pro-Wallace delegates and read the Farmer-Laborites out of the party. The left then held a rump convention, endorsed Wallace, and went to the state Supreme Court claiming to be the true DFL. The court denied their petition. (After the defeat of the left candidates in the DFL primaries later that year, the left in Minnesota was as isolated as elsewhere in the U.S.)

National prominence.

At the Democratic national convention that year Humphrey burst onto the national political scene. The Republicans had already held their convention, and had produced a fairly progressive civil rights plank. Humphrey, believing that if the Dixiecrats exercised their traditional influence, "the Republicans might have seized the issue by default," led the effort to make the Democrats adopt the most progressive civil rights plank ever put forward by a major party in the U.S.

Coming back to Minnesota with his political clout enhanced by his performance at the national convention, and with the left purged, Humphrey won the DFL nomination for U.S. senator and went on to defeat the incumbent Republican

in November.

Within the context of Minnesota politics Humphrey represented the center-right. In the Senate, though, many at first considered him something of a "radical."

Humphrey, however, was never confused about his fundamental political sympathies: "While I have been called radical, socialist, sometimes Communist, accused of holding wild-eyed economic views, I have really never been anything other than an advocate of a pragmatic free enterprise."

New Deal enthusiasm.

Much of Humphrey's liberal reputation came from his enthusiasm for New Deal programs, that he felt were necessary "to protect the system from abuse." He had unbounded enthusiasm for any reform that benefitted organized labor or minorities and did not threaten the military budget.

Having already learned the benefits to be obtained from the Cold War, however, Humphrey opposed the repeal of the Smith Act (in contrast to his friends in the ADA). His worst anti-civil liberties move, though, came in 1954, when he sponsored the Communist Control Act, which made membership in the Communist party "an overt act aimed at overthrowing the federal government."

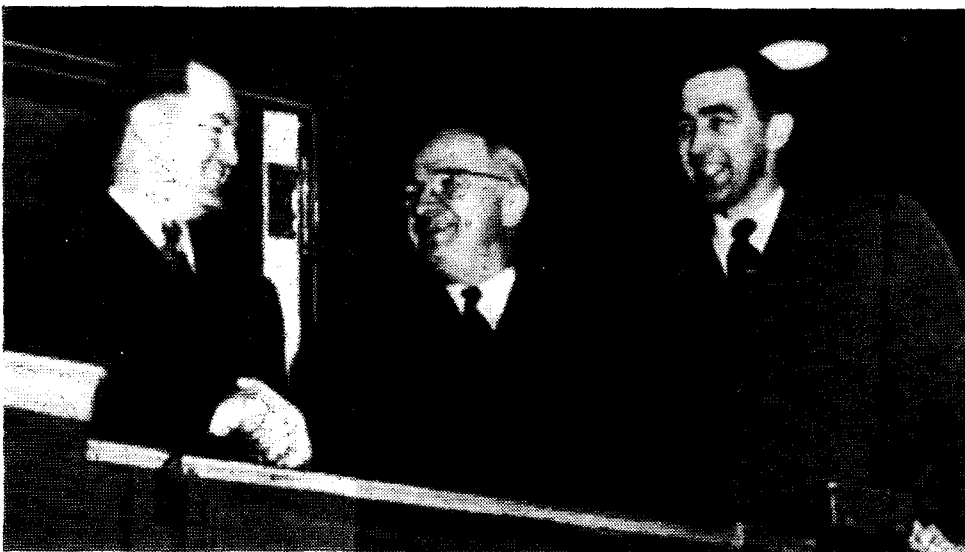
Just as Humphrey's response to red-baiting was to out-bait the red-baiters, so whenever Humphrey was accused of being "soft on defense," he responded by introducing bills to increase military spending. He was the preeminent "guns-and-butter" man.

Nonetheless, Humphrey's Senate record was one of the most productive of any senator. He drafted a plethora of liberal legislation (frequently in collaboration with his buddy in the Senate, Lyndon Johnson) that culminated in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

As early as 1948 Humphrey was chided about his political climbing act, prompting him to remark defensively, "I thought lack of ambition was sinful and that a politician without it was ready for retirement." And Hubert was definitely not ready for retirement.

In 1960 he made his first bid for the presidency. But his imposing record of welfare state legislation, his chipmunk cheeks and garrulous enthusiasm couldn't compete with Jack Kennedy's dynamism, youthful looks and money. Only after JFK's assassination could Humphrey cash in on his longtime friendship with

Continued on page 18.



The closeness of the 1948 race between Truman (above with HHH and Eugene McCarthy) and Dewey was the excuse to purge the Farmer-Labor left.

ELECTIONS

Bella Abzug wins N.Y. nomination

by Carol Polsky

NEW YORK — Bella Abzug almost didn't make it, but the progressive ex-congresswoman from New York has won the Democratic nomination as a candidate for Congress. This was the one she had to win. After losing bids for a Senate seat and the New York City mayoralty, she risked the loser tag that turns credible contenders into perennial candidates.

That would have been particularly ironic in this case. If the State Supreme Court in Manhattan hadn't ruled in her favor, Abzug would have seen victory snatched by a technicality, by six green Bella ballots that should have been blue.

The ballots were among those cast at a raucous convention Jan. 15 by over 900 Democratic county committee members from the 18th Congressional District on Manhattan's East Side. The committee members gathered in a cavernous high school auditorium to nominate a candidate for a Feb. 14 special election called to fill the seat left vacant by New York City's new mayor Edward Koch.

The court ruling validating the six disputed Abzug ballots stripped former City Councilman Carter Burden of his own political comeback. He had been the announced winner—pending the court ruling. He's considering appeal.

Confusion runs wild.

Confusion at the nomination convention accounts for the mishap over the ballots. They were cast on the third round of voting after six of the original ten candidates had already withdrawn or been eliminated. The committee members had begun voting on green paper ballots (each round of voting took a different color, to prevent fraud) when two more candidates announced their withdrawal. That left only Abzug and Burden in the race. The convention chairman then directed the committee members to switch from green to blue ballots.

Amidst the noisy confusion, six Abzug supporters either didn't hear, or had already voted and left the auditorium. When the final vote was announced, it was 50.29 percent for Burden, 49.79 percent for Abzug. By that time, everyone knew about the green ballots, and the fight was on.

Shouts of "count the green ballots!" erupted from Abzug supporters in the crowded auditorium, but parliamentary moves to overturn their invalidation would have been uncertain, long and extremely tedious. So Abzug took it to court.

She was, of course, very pleased by the favorable court ruling and called it a "validation of the franchise." She promised a unified and strong campaign against the Republican candidate, S. William Green. Green was a regional director of the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development under Nixon.

Difficulty in winning.

While the green ballot snafu provided the most interesting, if bizarre, twist, another side of the story was Abzug's inability to produce a more solid and convincing win. She was considered the strongest of the ten generally liberal candidates, which included Allard Lowenstein, who has managed to keep himself visible in liberal causes and election attempts since being gerrymandered out of his Long Island congressional seat almost ten years ago.

Abzug came on strong in the first ballot, falling just short of 40 percent of the vote. Her nearest opponent, Burden, received 22.61 percent and Lowenstein drew 14.35 percent. Two candidates with less than 5 percent were eliminated.

On the second ballot, however, Abzug moved just ever so slightly upward, to 40.47 percent. Burden's tally rose to 28.80 percent. By the third ballot, with all other candidates gone, he jumped 21 points

Only a State Supreme Court ruling validating six ballots that had been cast on the wrong color gave Bella the Democratic nomination for New York's silk stocking West Side congressional area.

while Abzug was hard put to muster 10, even with the withdrawal of Lowenstein. Lowenstein's supporters, it was widely supposed, would go to Abzug, giving her the victory.

Probably enough of them did to make the difference, but they were clearly divided. She did not get the block of Lowenstein votes, nor was she the second choice of very many other committee members in that auditorium.

Abzug's difficulties were not so much ideological as personal. Manhattan politics are based on years of campaigns, handshakes, alliances, friendships, spats and rivalries. Bella's been in that world for a long time and as many people noted, "You either love her or you hate her." She has always had her committed and vocal supporters, but reaching beyond that has been problematic.

In addition, the 18th Congressional District, or most of it, is not Abzug's

home base. She doesn't even live there, and some committee members charged her with "carpetbagging." The district is, moreover, the stomping grounds of her political rival Ed Koch, the new mayor.

Between Koch and Abzug stand years of "bad blood." She lost the 18th to Koch in the mayoralty primary race and she lost it to Moynihan in the 1976 Senate primary. (She gave up her West Side congressional seat to run in that primary.)

Abzug is the favorite to win the Feb. 14 special election. Although the 18th is called the "silk stocking district," with some of the country's wealthiest neighborhoods, it also includes parts of the Lower East Side and increasing numbers of highrises containing moderately well-off young professionals. The changing demographics, plus the growing movement of the Democratic party away from Tammany Hall toward more respectable, middle class "reform" politics, accounts

for the high Democratic vote in the last decade. Before, John Lindsay was the kind of Republican the district elected to Congress.

A June or September primary will follow on the heels of the special election, with a regular election in November. Whoever has the incumbency has an advantage, but there will probably be a primary race. Allard Lowenstein, for one, has said he'd support the nominee in February but refuses to commit himself beyond that.

For now, and probably for later, abzug has her seat. Had she lost this nomination, she'd have been casting about for a new race to run in. But she was running out of races and running out of time. New York could well have lost one of its strongest and most progressive voices in politics.

Carol Polsky is a free-lance writer in New York.



TRIALS

Dawson Five prosecution dropped

"This is a great day for the Dawson Five now that we are free. And all black people are now one step closer to being free."

With this jubilant statement, Dawson Five defendant J.D. Davenport greeted the news on Dec. 19 that county prosecutors had finally decided to abandon murder charges against him and four other black youths from rural Georgia. For the Five, the decision ended a two-year nightmare marked by illegal police tactics, confessions obtained at gunpoint and flagrant racism. (ITT, Aug. 3 and Aug. 24, 1977.)

The prosecution dropped the charges against the Five after a Georgia Superior Court judge ruled that the "confessions" obtained from the defendants were inadmissible in court because they had been extracted by means of intimidation and threats, backed up by cocked police pistols. The "confessions" were the mainstay of the prosecution's already feeble case against the Five.

The Dawson Five—Roosevelt Watson (17), Henderson Watson (21), James Edward Jackson Jr. (17), Johnny B. Jackson (18) and J.D. Davenport (18), were charged in the murder of a Dawson, Ga., man during an alleged grocery store robbery. From the outset, supporters have said the five were held on insufficient evidence.

In addition to the forced confessions, the prosecution relied on the testimony of the white owner of the grocery store where the murder took place. It was learned that the owner, Linward (Tiny) Denton, failed to call the police immediately after the shooting, and initially stated he could not identify any of the culprits.

It wasn't until five days later that he named Roosevelt Watson, whom he should have had little difficulty in recognizing since he was a regular customer at



the store. When the four other youths contended that Watson was several miles away at the time of the shooting, they too were arrested.

More than discrepancies marred the case. In his statement on suppressing the confessions Superior Court Judge Walter Geer said that the statements "were not freely, voluntarily and intelligently made."

He also announced the administration of a lie-detector test to Roosevelt Watson in Americus, Ga., "in an environment strange to the defendant." Watson "confessed" only after he was threatened with electrocution and castration, and forced to search for the alleged murder weapon—which was never found—in an icy pond for several hours. The other defendants also "confessed" after being interrogated at pistol point.

The forced confession charges against the police were corroborated by William Rucker, a former Dawson police inspector, who testified that he was present when a deputy questioned one of the de-

fendants, Junior Jackson, with a pistol cocked at Jackson's head.

The Dawson case revealed numerous instances of harassment and discrimination against blacks in Georgia. Millard Farmer, defense attorney for the Five and a staff member of Team Defense, a legal defense project that focuses its work on prisoners threatened with the death penalty, disclosed the gross underrepresentation of blacks in the jury pool in Terrell County. He found that the jury pool was 26 percent black, although blacks make up 65 percent of the county's population.

William Rucker, the former police inspector who confirmed the torture charges against the police, described under oath the pattern of illegal activities aimed at repressing black people in Dawson. This harassment included keeping lists of all blacks—but no whites—who buy guns, intimidating some blacks who tried to register to vote and setting high bails for imprisoned blacks.

—Liberation News Service

LABOR

Steel City: Buy it or lose it

by David Moberg
Staff Writer

"Black Monday" in Youngstown, Ohio, was more than any town should suffer. That was the day Youngstown Sheet and Tube suddenly closed its aging Campbell steel works, throwing nearly 5,000 workers out of their jobs and sending waves of economic jitters through municipal offices and small businesses that had depended on the steel economic backbone since the first iron furnace opened there in 1803.

Yet in the few months since that day, Sept. 12, United States Steel has also announced that it will let its mills in Youngstown run down, eventually eliminating those 5,000 jobs; General Fireproofing, a major steel fabricator, is leaving; General Motors' Packard Electric in nearby Warren laid off over 1,000 workers; and Lykes Corp., the conglomerate that bought out Youngstown Sheet and Tube in 1969, has been hinting strongly that it might abandon its remaining Youngstown steel facilities.

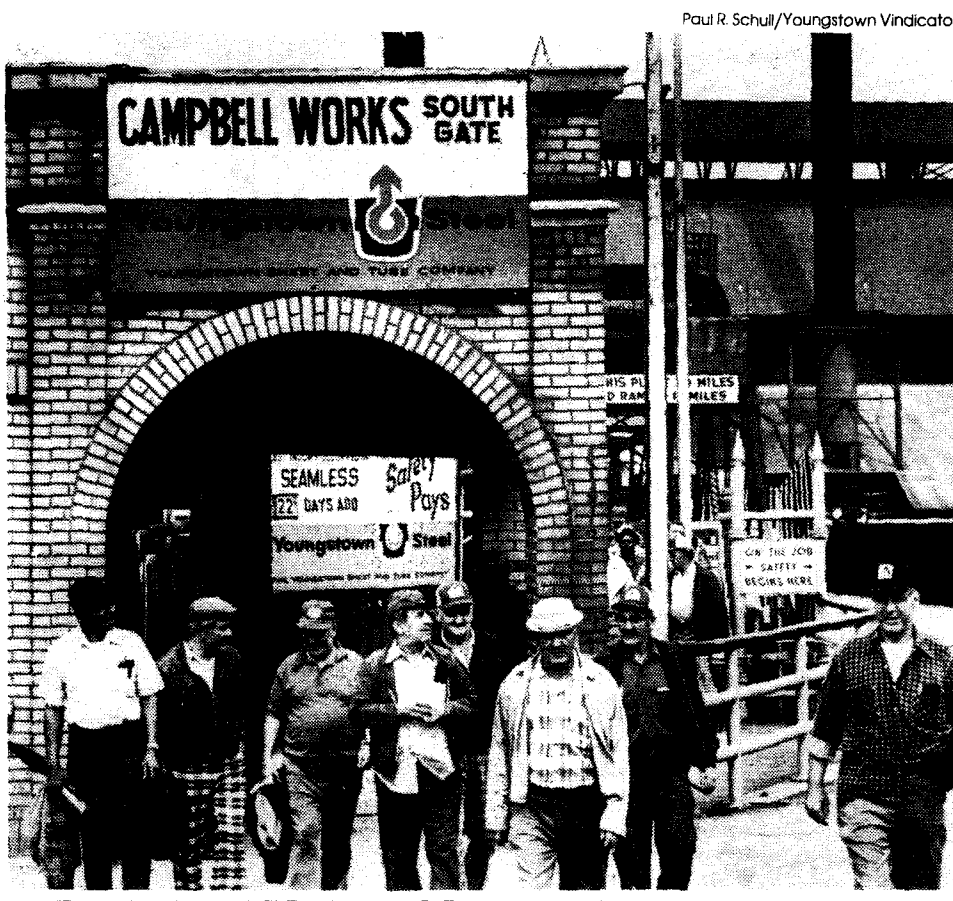
Faced with such desperate circumstances, a surprising coalition of community leaders has endorsed a dramatic proposal for the community and workers to purchase and operate the vacated Campbell Works, with its current producing capacity of nearly two million tons a year, mainly of sheet steel.

Although there are between 200 and 300 worker-owned firms of one sort or another in the U.S. now, this would be one of the largest undertakings. If successful, it could be a model for other communities facing loss of industries and jobs and provide leverage to construct a new federal urban policy.

Save Youngstown.

That's the theme of the campaign—"Save Youngstown, Save Urban America." It has already gained support from all major religious leaders in the area (including several bishops), nearly every politician, Steelworkers union director Frank Leseganich, presidents of six steel union locals and many in the community—workers in steel and other industries as well as small businessmen.

Despite the initial broad endorsement, most people remain skeptical. Laid-off steelworkers are still collecting unemployment and Trade Readjustment Act benefits totaling \$208 a week in most cases.



Paul R. Schul/Youngstown Vindicator

Facing loss of thousands of jobs, Youngstown steelworkers asked, "Why don't we run the mills?" Once a joke, it's now their hope.

Most will probably delay any planned exodus to new industrial Meccas, such as Houston, until summer. Supplementary Unemployment Benefits for the workers are nearly exhausted, however. Steel companies, in Youngstown and across the country, are also refusing to grant the 1977 contract's much-touted job security benefits to anyone laid off before Jan. 1, 1978, including the Campbell workers. (The union is taking the issue to arbitration but informed sources expect that they will lose.)

Yet there is less skepticism and more hope about the takeover plan now than there was last September, when Gerald Dickey, recording secretary at the Brier Hill local of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, began pushing the community-worker

ownership idea he'd picked up at a Campbell town meeting. A few days later he put on his three-piece suit to talk with "one of the local millionaires" about his idea.

"This guy was the first to laugh in my face about it," Dickey recalls. "You ought to have seen people laughing in the beginning. I was the biggest asshole in the world talking about 'community ownership.' Still a lot of people think it's a joke."

Less laughing now.

There's less laughing and more listening now:

• Over 200 churches and clergy, gathered in a new Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley, called a conference in late October, adopted the idea and excoriated both ineffective, nonexistent federal

urban policy and the Lykes Corp., which they said had "failed the test of stewardship in the management of this company and its resources."

• Consulting engineer George Beetle, in a study commissioned by the Western Reserve Economic Development Agency, concluded that Campbell Works could be re-opened and break even on its recently losing operations by 1983.

• Then on Dec. 31 the Department of Housing and Urban development granted the Ecumenical Coalition \$300,000 to draft within six months feasibility studies and designs for community-worker ownership. Gar Alperovitz of the National Center for Economic Alternatives will direct those projects.

The federal government could provide substantial economic aid to the community-worker control project under existing legislation. However, it will probably make no pledges until there is a convincing plan and a demonstration of serious grass-roots financial commitment.

Union would still be needed.

Although work on the design of the new enterprise has barely begun, Alperovitz has a few ideas, partly reflecting discussions with people in the area. First, "no one thinks it should be union-owned," he said, "not even the union. The whole community has a stake in it and will be needed for money equity and support."

Yet the community as a whole should not be the owner, he also says. Instead its power should be balanced with that of workers in the mill.

Also, "the union as an institution should maintain its traditional bargaining role," Alperovitz says. Leaders in the Ecumenical Coalition have firmly stated, according to Catholic Bishop James Malone's chief aide, Fr. Ed Stanton, that the plan is in "no way part of a labor-busting or union-busting thing."

Union leaders want a guarantee that the national Steelworkers contract will be respected, including seniority and pension rights.

In the present crisis atmosphere the main concern has been restoring jobs, but there has also been some talk about workers playing a role in governing the plant and controlling their work. However, the plant's success will require "strong, competent management—under policy guidance."

Continued on page 20.

Job security gains for Longshoremen

by Dan Marschall
Staff Writer

NEW YORK—For 20 years the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has sought a single contract for ports on the Atlantic coast as partial compensation for the union's dwindling membership and threatened decrease in bargaining power. As 50,000 East Coast longshoremen headed back to work last month, ending a 60-day strike, they brought with them a settlement that makes significant progress towards that goal.

Through a precedent-breaking "job security program," the union turned guaranteed annual income (GAI)—traditionally negotiated port by port—into a coast-wide bargaining issue. The new three-year pact, in addition to wage and benefit increases of 30.5 percent over the life of the agreement, establishes a coast-wide fund, jointly administered by union and management, to cover any shortfalls in welfare, pension and GAI funds.

The job security section is thus one of the "best plans in industry," boasted ILA president Thomas "Taddy" Gleason.

The prime issue in the strike was containerization—the shipments of cargo in van-size metal boxes that are loaded to and from ships with giant, highly mechanized cranes.

"The ILA's position has always been that we couldn't stop progress, but wanted to share in it. Any increase in productivity enjoyed by management has to be shared by labor," Lawrence Malloy, ILA public relations counsel, told IN THESE TIMES.

First introduced in the late 1950s, containerization expanded rapidly after 1965 when shipping companies realized its widespread advantages in economic efficiency, lower labor costs and higher productivity. Industry calculates, for example, that it takes 10,584 man-hours to load and unload 11,000 tons of cargo by conventional methods. The same cargo on a container ship can be handled in 546 man-hours.

Containerized operations also cut the "dead time" required for ships to load and unload in ports from seven to eight days to 36-48 hours.

The effect on longshore employment, however, has been devastating. In the port of New York, where containerization now accounts for 70 percent of all cargo movements, the longshore work force has declined from 31,000 in 1958 to 12,000 in 1976, according to union and industry figures.

The ILA made its first breakthrough in countering the job-destroying impact of

containerization in 1968. After a 57-day strike, the union won a "job protection" provision stipulating that any container coming from or destined to a point within a 50-mile radius of an ILA port would be "stuffed" (placing cargo into containers) or "stripped" (taking cargo out) by ILA labor.

This contract clause was intended to stop shippers from utilizing non-union labor at inland "consolidators" and thus avoiding ILA wages and work rules.

The 1968 agreement also guaranteed longshoremen in New York, the busiest port on the coast, a minimum of 2,080 hours of work annually, granting them an approximate income of \$16,640. This guaranteed annual income then spread to contracts at other ports, although the minimum number of hours was considerably less.

Since the widespread use of containerization, these rules have maintained some longshore jobs while protecting the incomes of all members on union rolls before 1969. In recent years, however, both these provisions have run into trouble.

In 1975 the National Labor Relations Board declared that the "stuffing and stripping" clause violated the Taft-Hartley Act. Its decision was later upheld by the Supreme Court.

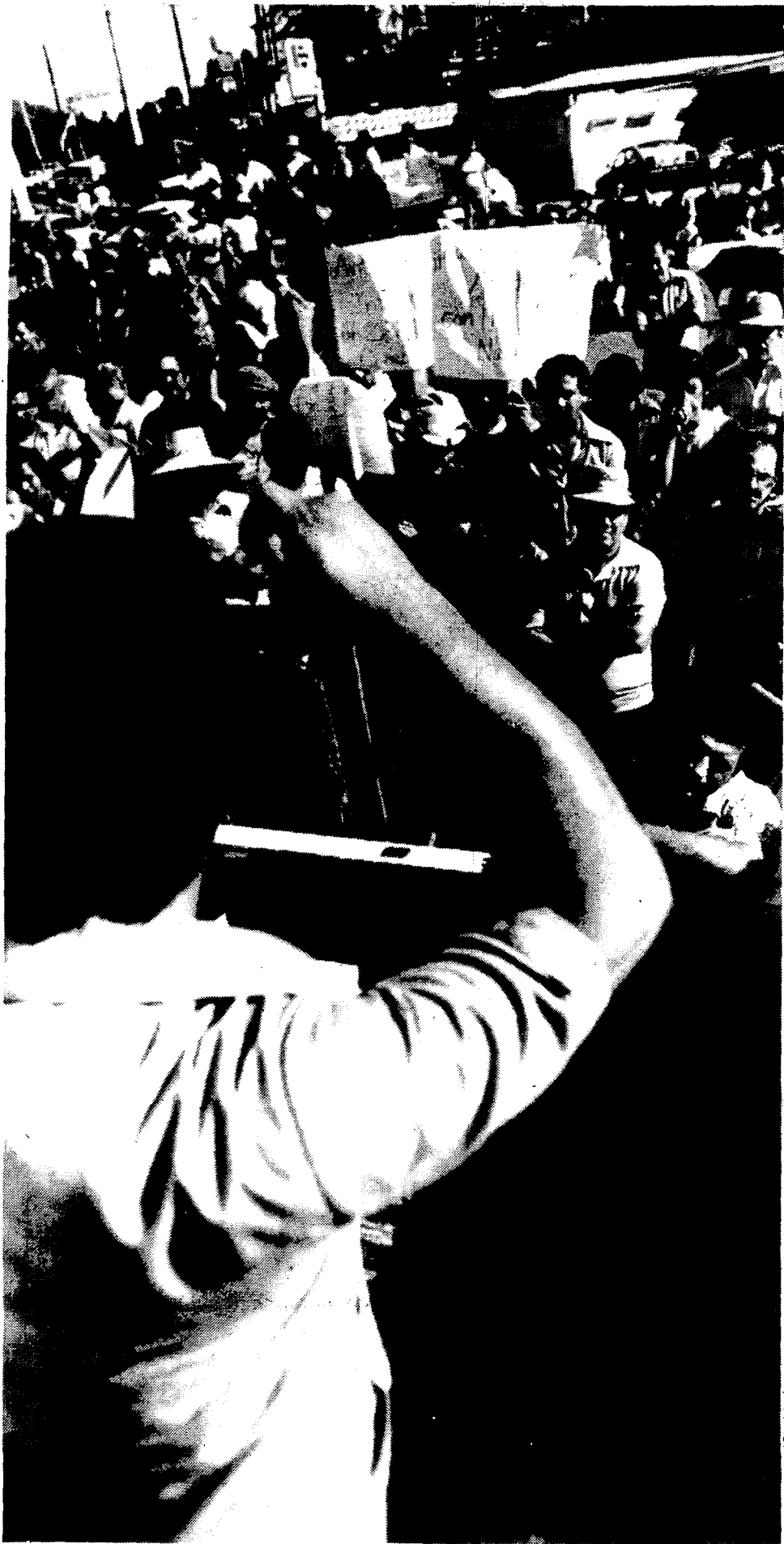
Meanwhile, more shippers have diverted their goods away from New York because the high GAI payments made shipping more costly. According to the New York Shipping Association, local carriers paid out over four times the GAI benefits than five other ports combined. But as shippers pull out, the fund, based on shipping tonnage, are jeopardized.

These developments led the ILA and NYSA to propose that GAI become a coastwide issue. For NYSA, this change would recapture some competitive advantage for the New York port. For the ILA, it would begin to compensate for the loss of their "stuffing and stripping" rule.

In large part, their gambit succeeded. Shippers based outside New York strongly opposed the new proposal, but were impelled to accept it by the union's still-considerable strike muscle. Deficits in local GAI plans will now be covered by the coastwide fund.

The contract also approaches parity in GAI plans from port to port. In Boston, for example, the minimum hours were increased from 1,500 to 1,700. In New Orleans a sliding scale of up to 2,080 hours was enacted.

The new contract "creates a whole new ball game," commented one shipping executive who resisted the changes. ■



Louis Lausell, president of the independent Puerto Rican electrical workers union, UTIER, addresses striking workers on a picket line in Santurce.

Trouble in the Puerto Rican colony

Study evaluates costs of statehood

by James Dietz

A congressional study has provided new ammunition in the battle over Puerto Rico's future. At stake is whether the island will continue its present Commonwealth status with the U.S. or move towards either full statehood or independence.

An increasing number of influential islanders have come out in favor of statehood, including the Governor of Puerto Rico, Carlos Romero Barcelo, a member of the pro-statehood New Progressive party. They argue that Puerto Rico's commonwealth or associated status has not been able to provide solutions to the island's pressing unemployment and poverty.

Although open supporters of independence for Puerto Rico have not done well in elections on the island, independence feelings are deep rooted among many islanders—evidenced by an examination of literature, newspapers and discussions. Fear that independence would result in economic disaster, however, has generally been sufficient to convince people ravaged by poverty to identify with other political solutions that seem to promise more immediate economic relief.

The study, "Treating Puerto Rico as a State Under Federal Tax and Expenditure Programs: A Preliminary Economic Analysis" was written by Donald W. Kiefer, of the Congressional Research Service for Sen. J. Bennett Johnston Jr. (D-La.), a member of the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Puerto Rico. The report considers the impact on federal taxes and spending of statehood for Puerto Rico. It is by no means exhaustive; it does not consider, for example, the critically important question of the impact of statehood on private firms brought to the island under special programs to encourage industrial development that reduce or eliminate tax obligations.

Despite such deficiencies, which make the report less than a full examination of the impact of statehood, the report has already become an important document in the discussion of Puerto Rico's future.

Gov. Romero says that the report proves that statehood will do just what he has always said it would do: benefit the poor most. And the report does tend to support that conclusion.

Statehood would make low income Puerto Ricans eligible for a higher level of transfer payments—welfare—than they now receive. Although Puerto Ricans are already eligible for the food stamp program—an estimated two-thirds of all families are dependent on stamps, which added \$800 million to the Puerto Rican economy—statehood would make residents eligible for all federal assistance programs.

State revenues would also increase in a "new Puerto Rican state" because of the increased transfer payments from the federal government. In 1977 the federal government financed an amount equivalent to more than one-quarter of Puerto Rico's total output, and about half the Commonwealth government's budget. The greater part of this went to social consumption, financing programs that were necessary to keep the lid on a potentially explosive social system. As a state the Puerto Rican government would be eligible for even more money from the federal government.

Middle and upper income persons, under statehood, however, would pay more taxes than they currently do. In ad-

dition, Puerto Rico's historically important rum tax revenues—all excise taxes collected on Puerto Rican rum are now returned to the Commonwealth treasury—would be lost.

Taking into account both the increased revenues to the government and the increased taxes by Puerto Ricans, the Kiefer report suggests that there would have been a net loss in total revenues to the island if Puerto Rico had been treated as a state in 1975.

The distribution of those revenues, however, would have been different, with the poor getting significantly higher welfare payments. The island's government bureaucracy would also have more funds to disburse and administer.

Those in favor of continuing the present Commonwealth status, perhaps with some modifications—Sen. Johnston is in this group—haven't found much in this report to support their position. Commonwealth supporters are in the uncomfortable position of favoring a status quo that favors middle and upper income earners over the mass of poor Puerto Ricans—about 60 percent of the island's population has an income below the poverty line.

Commonwealth advocates, therefore, have attacked the inadequacies of the report, labeling it a pro-statehood document that neglects important factors like the effect of statehood and full fiscal integration with the U.S. on whether firms decide to locate or stay in Puerto Rico.

There is some evidence that statehood could spell economic disaster to the organization of Puerto Rico's economy.

Firms are no longer locating in Puerto Rico because of the cheap labor that for so long waved as a lure to investors. The wage gap between the island and the mainland has been closing rapidly in recent years. For cheap labor, firms now turn to the Dominican Republic, Hong Kong, Taiwan or some other "free labor" nation.

Puerto Rico's attraction is now primarily financial: firms can operate virtually tax free for periods of ten to 30 years with the possibility of extensions. Because of the rising cost of labor firms locating on the island use increasingly little labor and much capital—pharmaceuticals, petrochemicals, and so forth. They are there primarily for the tax savings.

Statehood would change all this. Federal taxes on firms in Puerto Rico would rise from zero to approximately \$491 million with statehood. Given increased costs for transportation and other expenses that result from island operations, many present firms are likely to close up shop and move to a more convenient and cheaper mainland location, or else look for some Third World nation whose leaders would like to institute industrialization Puerto Rican style.

It is difficult to make the argument that a significant number of these firms would choose to remain in Puerto Rico. During past periods of low business activity American firms have demonstrated the rapidity with which operations can be liquidated. More than likely, being interested in the highest possible profits, the firms would leave.

If that were to occur, the impact would be devastating. Puerto Rico today is in the position of a poor southern state—in fact, the poorest. Per capita income in 1977 was \$1,989, about half that of Mississippi, the poorest state in the union. If a significant number of firms left the is-

Freddie Toledo/Claridad

land when their tax savings were suspended, conditions would deteriorate even further. And with such a change, federal costs would rise dramatically as the level of welfare payments necessary to support increased levels of unemploy-

ment—which already runs an official 20 percent and an unofficial 40 percent—rose. ■

James Dietz teaches in the Comparative Culture program of the University of California at Irvine.

Puerto Ricans returning to island

By Ronnie Lovler
Pacific News Service

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO—In 1960 Augustin Gonzalez, a Puerto Rican social worker, opened up a social services agency in New York City to help Puerto Ricans adjust to life in the U.S. In January 1978 Gonzalez opened a local branch of that same agency, the Puerto Rican Family Institute, to help Puerto Ricans returning from the U.S. readjust to life in Puerto Rico.

The establishment of the institute here is a sign of the times. Whereas in the 1950s and 1960s it was New York, Hartford, Boston and Chicago for the Puerto Rican migrant, his counterpart these days is boarding the plane for island destinations—San Juan, Ponce and Mayaguez.

Between 1960 and 1970 more than 600,000 Puerto Ricans migrated to the U.S., mostly in search of the jobs that were non-existent on the island. Although there are still few jobs in Puerto Rico today—unemployment is close to 40 percent—the exodus is changing directions.

Since 1972 almost 200,000 more Puerto Ricans have returned to the island than have left it, totally reversing the pattern established during the last 20 years.

Why are they returning? The reasons are complex, but in the end it all boils down to two separate motives: family and food stamps.

For most Puerto Ricans, whether they have lived one, five, ten or 30 years in the U.S., their hearts have always remained in Puerto Rico.

"I feel as if I'm in my own house here," says Mike Miranda, who lived in New York for more than 20 years. "I like the U.S., but it never felt like home."

It's the same feeling echoed by Mike's wife, Conchita Ortiz, and his in-laws, all of whom lived in the U.S. for more than two decades. "I took my family there in the '40s, because I wanted to give them a better life," says Ernesto Ortiz. "But we always planned on coming back because Puerto Rico is our homeland."

And come back they did. Except for one brother and one daughter, all of the Ortiz clan, with close to 30 members, are back in Puerto Rico.

But not before they made certain they had a good nest-egg built up. Josefina

Ortiz and her husband, Rafael Robles, had enough money saved to open a small store. Miranda had compensation from the Army for a service-related ailment. Ortiz himself had the Social Security benefits and the pension plan due him after 20 years with the Merchant Marine.

The Ortiz family's situation is typical of that of the first wave of returnees—those who came back to Puerto Rico before federal government aid became such a pervasive part of island life. Although they might have dreamed of returning for years, few took up permanent residence in Puerto Rico again unless they had adequate savings, pensions, or some other form of guaranteed income coming their way.

Leroy Lopez, a local economist believes the extension of the federal food stamp program to the island in 1974 accelerated the return of many Puerto Ricans. "They can now receive many of the same benefits here—once available to them only in the U.S.," Lopez says. Nearly 70 percent of the 3.2 million island population is now receiving food stamps.

The return of this latter group of migrants with fewer economic resources is in large part responsible for Gonzalez' decision to open a branch of the Family Institute here.

"We are finding that many of our clients are returning to Puerto Rico, and they are facing the same obstacles in adjusting as they once did in the U.S.," he says.

Gonzalez points out that the new migrants are not always welcomed with open arms by their brethren on the island, since the different ways of living they have been exposed to in the U.S. have also affected their lifestyle and points of view.

"They are finding discrimination, especially the young, who have grown up speaking English and whose Spanish is not quite that good," Gonzalez explains.

Despite the problems, Gonzalez says the returnees are determined to stick things out. "No matter what they have to confront, they feel they have a right to return home. New York was never home for them." ■

Ronnie Lovler is a Puerto Rico-based journalist, and former staff reporter for the San Juan Star.



Police harass striking electrical workers on the picket line in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. The union thinks the government is out to break its political power.

the workers to walk off their jobs.

Lausell has already been accused by Antonio Quinones Calderon, press aide to Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo, of illegally transporting arms and ammunition. The contraband was allegedly found in Lausell's car after the union leader was involved in an auto accident that left him with a broken leg and cuts and bruises over most of his body.

Lausell has denied the accusation. Back on the picket line three days after his accident, he said that Quinones Calderon's remarks were an attempt to frame him "since he knows the punishment for such an offense is 25 years in prison."

Police officials who filed the original accident report made no mention of finding arms or ammunition in Lausell's car at the time. They have given a note to that effect to the union's lawyers.

This is the first time in memory that specific accusations of criminal violations against a Puerto Rico resident have been made by the governor's office instead of the police, who normally handle such affairs. No charges have been filed against Lausell.

Meanwhile, the government has sought an injunction against the strikers. The UTIER leadership has indicated that it will refuse to obey such an order should it be issued.

Gov. Romero Barcelo has also had the Puerto Rico National Guard on stand-by since the strike began. Although Romero has denied that he has immediate plans to mobilize the Guard, he said that such a move "obviously cannot be discarded." Romero's predecessor, Rafael Hernandez Colon called out the guard during a 1973 strike by UTIER.

Persons close to the governor have commented that the only reason he has refrained from calling the Guard is fear of the negative effects such a move would have on tourism during peak season.

Members of Romero's administration have also hinted that the strike may cause

the governor to back down on a campaign promise to permit the unionization of all public employees. Vice Speaker of the Puerto Rican House, Jose Granados Navadeo, a member of Romero's New Progressive party, said that the strike could cause some lawmakers "who favored unionization of public employees" to reconsider their positions.

Despite support from other labor unions, including the transportation, telephone and waterworks unions, as well as the Teamsters and teachers, UTIER is vulnerable. Government efforts to stir public opinion against the strikers have been relatively successful, especially because of numerous blackouts and power outages, which left many towns temporarily without electric power during the Christmas season, traditionally a time of festivities that last until mid-January.

Both sides have accused the other of sabotage, with the union hinting that WRA executives themselves were the "intellectual authors" behind vandalism of the power systems in a try for public sympathy.

UTIER's fragile position in the public eye was not helped when the body of UTIER member Samuel Rodriguez Estrella was found under a metal transmission power post that somebody had been able to topple.

At issue in the UTIER strike are union demands for a monthly wage increase of \$226 a month. The last offer made by the WRA management was \$30 monthly.

WRA claims it cannot meet the UTIER demand because it lost \$48 million in fiscal 1977. But a study of the WRA books for the union by two London School of Economics graduates showed a WRA profit of \$102 million during that year.

Although UTIER members are the highest paid government employees in Puerto Rico, with average salaries of \$7,000 a year, their wages are still only slightly more than half that of their counterparts in the U.S. ■

Union at stake in electrical strike

by Ronnie Lovler

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO—A strike by 6,200 members of the Electrical and Irrigation Workers union (UTIER) here is becoming a confrontation with the government that could determine the future of this island's labor movement for years to come.

The electrical workers walked off their jobs at the year's end after a months-long deadlock over wages with the management of the government-owned Water Resources Authority (WRA), the sole source of electric power in Puerto Rico.

UTIER, an independent union, has long been regarded as one of the strongest and most militant labor unions on the island. It is headed by Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP) central committee member Luis Lausell.

Because of Lausell's political affiliation, which was known to UTIER members when they overwhelmingly elected him union president last year, and UTIER's reputation for militancy, observers think the government is more interested in trying to break the union than in resolving the particular conflicts that caused

IN THE WORLD

GERMANY

West Germany's rightward lurch casts new shadow

PARIS—In 1978, "Germanization" has replaced "Eurocommunism" as the key term in avant-garde discussion of political trends in Southern Europe. It reflects growing fears that the "German model," in which all real opposition to the system is suppressed, marginalized or criminalized, is being extended to other European countries, first of all Italy.

At the big gathering "against repression" held in Bologna last Sept. 23 through 25, the biggest split that appeared in the new Italian Movement largely reflected differences over the extent to which Italy was already "Germanized." The most drastic position was taken by Autonomous militants who maintained that the Christian Democratic-Italian Communist party alliance was rapidly turning Italy into a police state with no room for legal opposition.

This analysis may justify armed resistance. But most of the movement saw the "Germanization" process as much less far advanced, and tended to agree with Lotta Continua that Italian society still provided space for many forms of peaceful opposition.

Then, in October, the war between the West German government and the Baader-Meinhof "Red Army Faction" captured the European imagination, which suddenly found itself hostage of German fantasies. Concern over "Germanization" spread to France. As the left's hopes of important changes for the better dimmed in the wake of the Communist-Socialist rift in France and the Communist-Christian Democratic stalemate in Italy, the somber sideshow of "terrorism versus anti-terrorism" seemed to take over center stage in Western Europe.

People on the left find themselves obliged to take positions on "terrorism" in general and the Red Army Faction (RAF) in particular. They would mostly rather talk about something else.

The RAF approach has proved too disastrous to require refutation, and it is distasteful to join the chorus of the self-righteous in condemning people who have paid heavily for having the courage of their misguided convictions. Outside Germany, it is possible to hedge by saying that the RAF was wrong, but that the completely blocked nature of West German society left no possibility for any other type of opposition.

New new left.

The "anti-radical" witch hunt and the rightward lurch of West German society are indeed seriously alarming. But even West Germany itself is not—yet—so "Germanized" that one must either shut up or hold up. A libertarian new new left is surviving somehow, much of it in communes—a thousand or so in Frankfurt alone. It is a mixture of ecologists, anti-nuclear activists, feminists, gays, artists and other "freaks" who share the odd notion that life can be different. The very existence of this peaceful non-conformist movement has been obscured by the terrorist spectacle.

Discussions recently began in this movement about holding a big meeting next summer in Frankfurt, modeled after the Bologna gathering. The meeting would be a chance to develop international solidarity with those West Germans who are combatting terrorism by finding something better to do.



For Horst Mahler (left), in jail for 14

years for taking part in RAF terrorism, the RAF's "hatred" toward the people is "not merely the byproduct of capitalist society, but also an expression of the crisis of the socialist movement."

Some people object that criticism of the RAF plays into the hands of those who are using the terrorist scare to move Europe to the right. However, it is precisely people on the far left who are developing a political critique of terrorism in a responsible effort to dissuade alienated youths who risk being inspired by the heroism of the RAF militants from embarking on the same erroneous and suicidal course.

Identify with Third World.

In an interview with Luciana Castellina in *Il Manifesto* of Nov. 6, former lawyer Horst Mahler, serving a 14-year sentence in Moabit prison in West Berlin for involvement in RAF operations, described how he and others in the RAF went from a moralistic reaction against their country's past to sympathy for terrorism. Believing the German working class too passive to liberate itself, "we could not identify with our own people. Therefore we sought another identity and found it in the 'Third World.' From then on, we no longer felt German, but instead the fifth column of the Third World in the imperialist center."

Thereupon, "we hastily read lots of Lenin and not much Marx," gaining a simplistic view of "us on one side and the State on the other, ignoring society in its complexity," Mahler told Castellina. The Baader-Meinhof group's rejection of the West German working class in favor of the Third World was "the root of its violence and its tremendous isolation."

The weakening of the new left after 1972 gave rise to a "reaction of hatred" on the part of RAF militants, convinced that they were right and that only fear prevented others from following their lead. "Thus little by little the enemy was no longer only imperialism but 'the cowardly left' which wanted revolution without its risks. People on the left were also 'Schweine,' pigs, like the others. For us to ignore rather than talk to or listen to."

In a paper written jointly with another convicted RAF member, Jurgen Backer, Mahler said this "hostility towards the people went along with the calculation that a hardening of oppression into fascist terror would finally move the people



IT 31 TAG
GEFANGEN

The kidnapping and murder of Hans-Martin Schleyer prompted news call for repressive legislation.

against the State." Thus the RAF adopted the disastrous strategy of trying to push the state towards fascism—a strategy with absolutely no basis in history or common sense, but one that has found a dangerous accomplice in the German right, which has its own reasons for welcoming such a development.

Mahler and Backer argue that to get rid of individualistic terrorism, it is necessary to recognize that the "hatred" nurtured by the RAF is "not merely the byproduct of capitalist society, but also an expression of the crisis of the socialist movement." They conclude that terrorism is a "crime against the revolution," and plead for "the defense of civil freedoms."

A new breed of pariahs.

While part of the far left seeks to clarify the political errors that led to the RAF tragedy, the German right, which unquestionably seeks to use terrorism as a pretext to suppress political and civic liberties, has tried to silence such political argument by stigmatizing it as overly "sympathetic" to terrorists. The right portrays the Baader-Meinhof band as inhuman monsters who actually threaten the existing social order—a mirror that reflects the RAF much as it sees itself. The right-wing press goes on and on about the "psychology" of "terrorists," creating the notion of a special breed of misfits who are all potential terrorists—a breed that has replaced Jews as the pariahs who must be spotted, tracked down and eliminated to assure the orderly conformity of German society.

Many of the RAF members are women. The Springer newspaper *Die Welt* has no trouble explaining women's violence by "hatred of father resulting from a frustrated incestuous love." Women terrorists want to be "Amazons, vanguard

fighters for a matriarchal society." *Die Welt* describes the resulting chaos as "an upside down world, in which the left takes preference over the right, night over day, the moon over the sun, Dionysian rage over Apollonian harmony." The man's world, as we all know, is so harmonious. The obvious warning: let a woman out of the kitchen and she's apt to go hijack an aircraft.

Of course West German capitalism does not want all women in the kitchen: there is plenty of room in the whorehouse, or rather, in the "Eros centers," as they are stylishly called. The moralists pontificating on feminist "terrorism" are not so upset by a new "sports" spectacle currently being promoted throughout West Germany, in the sordid tradition of Hamburg's notorious "women wrestling in the nude": a tournament of "bare-breasted women boxers," with this advertising: "soft fists, hard blows, jumping breasts." Women must stay on the receiving end of degradation and violence in a country where, according to official statistics, half of married women are beaten by their husbands.

Haunted by genocide.

Men are almost as untrustworthy as women if they happen to be intellectuals. West Germany's most distinguished writer, Heinrich Boll, reported recently that while his hate-mail used to come unsigned, whereas his admirers identified themselves, this has now changed. Threatening letters are signed, while words of encouragement are anonymous.

Boll is among those who have dared to suggest that West German society is not utterly perfect, at the risk of thereby finding himself in agreement on some points with "terrorists."

A French royalist editor, Bertrand Re-
Continued on page 18.

JAPAN/U.S.

U.S. gets Japan to sign trade truce

by William Burr

After a week of intensive American pressure and stiff Japanese resistance, trade negotiators of both countries signed on Jan. 13 an agreement that marked a truce in a long-standing dispute over commercial policy. The Japanese conceded more than they felt politically expedient, but the U.S. did not get all that it wanted. Protectionist pressure in Congress still poses a threat to the U.S./Japanese community of interest but, the Carter administration hopes, the recent agreement may temporarily mute business and labor protectionism.

The 10-point communique signed by American Trade Representative Robert Strauss and Japanese Minister for External Economic Affairs Nobuhiko Ushiba did point towards a fundamental restructuring of Japanese trade policy and a substantial reduction of Japan's large balance of payments surplus. But internal economic pressures in both societies, along with the depressed global economic scene, threaten the realization of these objectives.

In the communique, the Japanese agreed to increase import quotas on hotel beef, oranges and citrus concentrates. The recent intense pressure from American members of Congress accounts for the move to increase agricultural quotas. Ushiba made this concession at some political risk given the well-organized and militant drive against further agricultural imports led by the politically powerful Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives. But the Japanese put up a stiff and successful resistance to American demands for additional and deeper tariff cuts on manufactured imports (for instance, color film and computers).

The Japanese pledged to increase manufactured imports and reduce or eliminate non-tariff barriers. They promised to expand credits for imports, simplify inspection procedures on imports, lift exchange controls as well as to take a favorable stance on deeper tariff cuts in forthcoming negotiations sponsored by the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT).

The Carter administration also got Japan to join a "trilateral" effort to lead world capitalism out of its economic doldrums by expanding effective demand in the major capitalist nations. American leaders reason that lowered trade barriers and increased government spending in the U.S., Germany and Japan will assist ailing French, British and Italian capitalism and the developing, but debt-ridden, capitalism of the Third World. In the communique, the Japanese announced a growth rate target of 7 percent for fiscal year 1978, which they hope to meet through special public works programs. This target, along with the revalued yen (which lowers the price of imports), and further steps to lower trade barriers are the chief elements of government planning to increase demand for industrial imports and reduce Japan's balance of payments surplus in the coming years.

But American policymakers and the financial press look at the Japanese pledges with considerable skepticism. They argue that Japan will make every effort to dilute the meaning of the agreement in order to curb a surge of imports that might trigger higher levels of unemployment in a society which considers a 2 percent rate undesirable.

Some Japanese business leaders and economists have cast doubt on Japan's ability to reach the 7 percent growth rate target. They have concluded that even with the new programs of government expenditures, the economy will reach a growth rate no higher than 5.8 percent and perhaps as low as 4.4. Japanese economists argue that, given the depressive effects of declining real wages, falling profits margins and surplus capacity, the government is placing unrealistic hopes on the recovery of private investment. Low levels



Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda waves to press as American trade envoys Robert Strauss (right) and Alan Wolff (left), accompanied by Ambassador Mike Mansfield pay him visit after trade talks ended on Jan. 13.

of growth, business economists fear, will lead to decreased imports in 1978.

The leading Japanese business association, the Federation of Economic Organizations, has estimated a 4.1 percent growth rate for fiscal 1978 and a balance of payments surplus at the 1977 level of \$10 billion. Even if the government took additional steps to raise expenditures and promote new investment, the report ob-

served, the surplus for 1978 will be nearly \$7 billion. The U.S. would like Japan to lower its surplus to \$5 billion for 1978.

These basic problems of Japanese capitalism gave impetus to Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda's recent efforts to arrange a special summit with President Carter for the spring. Fukuda would like Carter to relax pressure on Japanese commercial practices until government spending

programs have had a beneficial impact. Fukuda and other Japanese leaders fear that if Carter cannot restrain protectionist forces in Congress, restrictions on Japanese exports will yield undesired social and political problems at home.

William Burr is a graduate student in history at Northern Illinois University specializing in American foreign economic policy.

SPAIN

Artists strike for free speech

by Amy Schwartz
Iberian News Service

BARCELONA—Theater director Albert Boadella has been in Barcelona's La Modelo prison since Dec. 15. Scene of an October prison uprising, the prison is in great disrepair and Boadella and other prisoners are without heat.

The director was arrested by order of the Captain General of Catalonia, who had ordered suspension of the mime play "La Torna" (The Turn) Dec. 11. The latest production of the theater collective Els Joglars (The Jugglers), "La Torna" is based on the execution of an expatriate Pole in the city of Tarragona; the company chose the story for its leftwing political implications.

Boadella and five other members of the collective, who were freed from custody, are charged with the crime of injury to military authority and the institution of the Civil Guards—subject under the Code of Military Justice to a sentence of six months and one day up to six years.

In response to the arrest, workers in the entertainment industry called a general assembly and decided to conduct a "Setmana de Lluita" (Week of Struggle) that would culminate in a strike. They called for the release of Boadella and protested this latest infraction of freedom of expression.

On Thursday, Dec. 22, Barcelona holiday makers had nothing to do. Workers shut down all theaters, movie houses, cabarets, and even the grand Liceo opera house. Not only in Barcelona, but in Madrid and other capitals, actors, musicians and technical workers of film, stage,



Madrid's musicians union demonstrates on behalf of "Liberty of Expression" and liberty for Albert Boadella.

and even recording studios, and some museums and galleries, went out on strike. During the week of mobilization, many theaters had already closed, and messages of support reached the strike assembly from all over Spain and Europe. Television and radio workers mailed letters to government officials protesting the military judgment.

Strikers and a sympathetic public have raised the question—among others—as to what right a military tribunal has to pass judgment on a theatrical work—one that the Ministry of Culture had already approved for viewing before its opening in October. One clause of Spain's recently rubber-stamped set of agreements, the Moncloa Pact, states that the Code of Military Justice is applicable only to military personnel.

But it seems that this is only one of many social reforms promised by the Moncloa Pact that are awaiting consideration by a recalcitrant Cortes (Spain's parliament) before they can become law. Franco's heirs in the Suarez government have expediently implemented only the 22 percent ceiling on wage increases specified in the economic section—leaving price controls and the social reforms by the wayside.

Boadella remains locked up. A huge benefit for Els Joglars, which featured major artists from around the country, was held on Saturday, Jan. 7. More actions are planned and the slogans are plastered all over Barcelona: "Libertad d'expression, Libertad Albert Boadella" (Liberty of expression, liberty for Albert Boadella).

ETHIOPIA

Ethiopian war will determine Red Sea's future

*GERARD CHALIAND WENT TO ERITREA LAST spring and wrote a report on his stay there. Chaliand is author of the recently published **Revolution in the Third World** and of books on Vietnam, the Palestinians, and Angola. In the first part, Chaliand sketches the historical background; in the second and third parts (which will appear next week and the week after) he describes what he saw in Eritrea. The translation is by Helene Ibert.*

The Red Sea is today the epicenter of great power rivalries. The October 1973 war demonstrated once again that the eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean share a single strategic gateway, in military as well as economic affairs. The USSR enjoys friendly relations with Aden and formerly did with Somalia. As the U.S.'s privileged ally, Ethiopia used to receive half or more of American military aid to Africa, and 20 percent of American economic aid to that continent. But in spring 1976, the military junta headed by Mengistu Hilic Mariam has become one of Russia's principal allies. U.S. ally Saudi Arabia wants to turn the Red Sea into an Arab Lake—to be rechristened "Peace Lake" for the occasion. It remains to be seen what sort of peace is referred to.

The new balance of power being sketched out around the Red Sea, more precisely on the eastern horn of Africa, depends on the immediate future of Ethiopia. Frozen into an agrarian structure as archaic as it was confining, dominated by an aristocracy composed mainly of the Amarha people and opposed to all change, Ethiopia began to break out of its imperial mold with the death of Haile Selassie in February 1974.

Ethiopia launched a revolutionary campaign that swept all this out of its path. The Amarha leadership has been severely shaken, while a petite bourgeoisie, originating mainly among the Galla people, began its social ascent, most notably in Choa.

In the long run, Ethiopia's future will be determined by an alliance between the Amarhas, who account for 25 percent of its population, and the Gallas, who account for 40 percent. In the meantime, a chaotic transformation, rendered the more brutal by armed opposition from both the left and the right, and by secessionist movements in Eritrea and Ogaden, is bringing down in bloody confusion the apparently immutable structure that once held the Negus empire in its vise-like grip.

Out of a total of 14 provinces, seven are in varying degrees of rebellion and opposition makes itself felt even in the cap-

ital city. The Ethiopian regime has undertaken a campaign to mobilize popular patriotic fervor through the creation of "revolutionary committees" to combat the enemy from without and within. The resultant atmosphere is one of profound polarization.

Ethiopia's internal evolution will depend on a series of factors: on the internal cohesion of the Dergue, the ruling party, on the potential support for the regime from the Gallas majority, which has benefited greatly from agrarian reform, and on the role to be played by foreign aid.

The current regime faces armed rightist opposition from the Ethiopian Democratic Union (UDE), composed of dispossessed landowners and conservative military and civilian elements. On the left, the administration must counter the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party (PRPE), a largely urban movement that lost much of its leadership in the student massacres at Addis-Ababa. This clandestine movement receives support from students, unionized workers and certain factions of the petite bourgeoisie and the military.

Beyond all this, the present government in Ethiopia must deal successfully with the two separatist movements linked with the history of the Ethiopian empire: the Somali secessionist movement in Ogaden and the movement for Eritrean Independence.

The last movement is divided into three main groups, and forms a very powerful opposition, even if it is split by internal factions. The PLFE is the strongest organization. It controls the border with Sudan on the north side of Ethiopia. Young women and men take part in the guerilla activities and have organized a new revolutionary social structure. Up to now the army of Ethiopia has never really threatened the life of this movement.

The PLFE, an authentic revolutionary organization, is fighting against a government that claims to be Marxist-Leninist. Both sides are strongly entrenched in their positions and negotiations are necessary. The only real answer will be given by the internal evolution of Ethiopia. ■



A young fighter for the FPL.

Photos/EFNLA

Background to war

Secessionist Movements

I N E R I T R E A

FLE (Eritrean Liberation Front), known as the Revolutionary Council. Created in 1961, led by Abdel Nasser and Ibrahim Totil. Controls provinces of Barka and Gash. Has units in every other province except Sahel. Its weak point: the high plateau. Estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 men.

FPLE (Popular Liberation Front of Eritrea). Created 1970, led by Roman Mohamed Nur and Issaias Afe-werki. Controls Sahel, including the provincial capitol. Has battalions in every province except Barka. Particularly strong in Senhir, Hamassien and Samhar. Its weak point is Dankalie. Estimated strength: 10,000 to 12,000 men.

FLE-FPLE (Eritrean Liberation Front, also known as Popular Forces for the Liberation of Eritrea). Created in 1976 and led by Osman Sabbe Salem. This movement, whose principal strength lies in the connections and personal charisma of its leader, has recruited most of its estimated 2,000 followers among the Eritrean refugees in Sudan, and so far has not extended beyond the far side of the Sudanese border.

I N S O M A L I A N P R O V I N C E S

FLSO (Western Somali Liberation Front). Made up of Somali guerillas in Sidamo, Bale and Harrar, fighting to annex these provinces to Somalia.

The Ethiopian Opposition

PRPE (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party). Essentially urban, composed of intellectuals, students and extreme-left syndicalists, relatively well established and supported by workers from various sectors. Force unknown.

UDE (Ethiopian Democratic Union). Antimarxist front, formed in 1975, composed of extremely diverse elements including dispossessed landowners, military opposed to the Dergue, etc. Established in the provinces of Gondar, Tigre and Godjam. Led by General Ilyassu Mengesha. Estimated following: 10,000 men.

History of Eritrea

It was the Italians, in the 19th century, who first defined Eritrea as a territorial entity. Although historically the Tigrinyan plateau belongs to the Abyssinian mountains, the Ethiopians never controlled the lowlands, where the Islamic movement prospered.

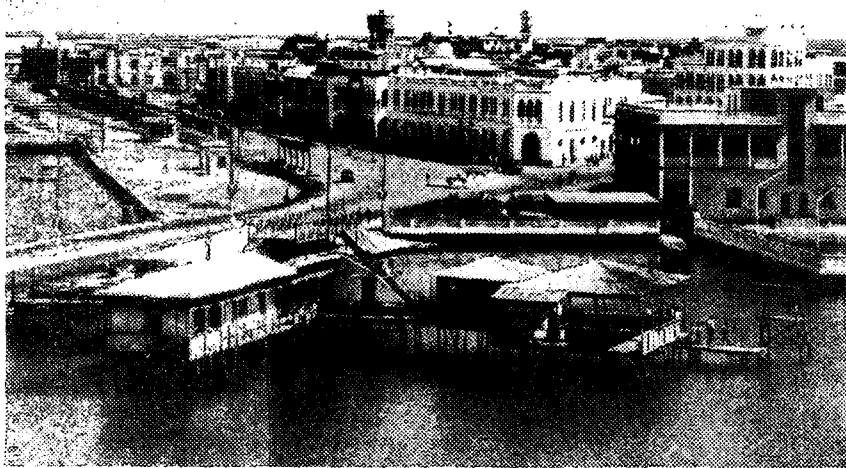
In the 16th century, the Turks occupied Massawa and the northern coast of Eritrea. Egyptians took their place at the beginning of the 19th century. From 1885 to 1941, the territory was an Italian colony. Under the Italians, Eritrea was provided with a good communications network, a modern agricultural system, a centralized administration, and the beginnings of industry. A modern intelligentsia began to take shape in this period even before its appearance in Ethiopia.

In 1941, the British took over and managed the country until 1952. The project to divide Eritrea (giving the Muslim territory to the north and west to Sudan, and turning the Christian plateau over to Ethiopia), was foiled by the very political parties the British had allowed to emerge. These parties, although founded on religious lines and bitterly hostile to one another, united in their opposition to the dismemberment of the colony.

After inquiries by two separate UN commissions, whose conclusions were contradictory, Eritrea was federated to Ethiopia as an autonomous entity with its own parliament, hymn, flag and official languages (Tigrinyan and Arabic). The British supported this solution.

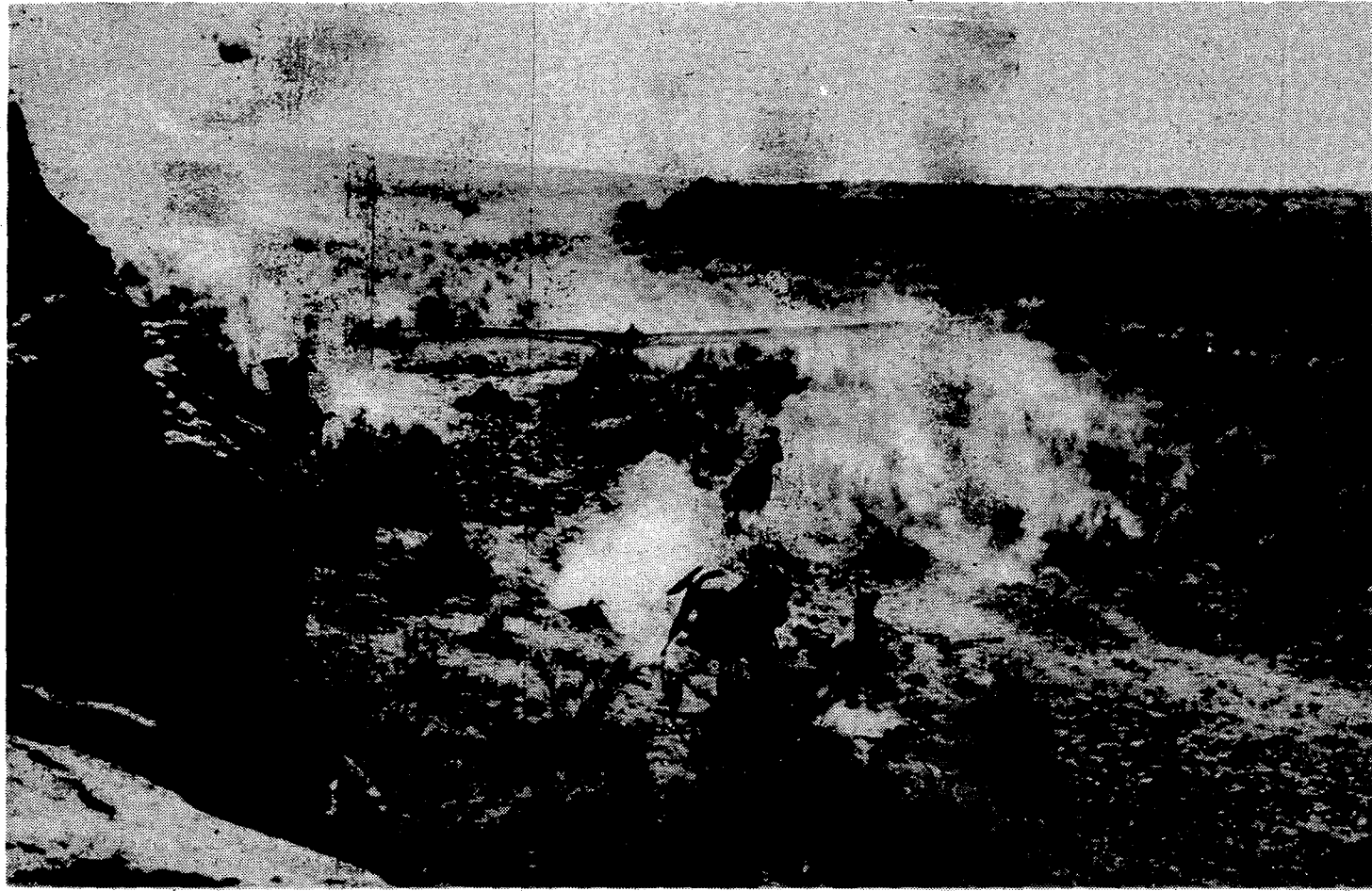
The federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia marks the beginning of 20 years of American-Ethiopian alliance. The Ethiopians put the military base of Kagnaw at the disposal of the Americans in Eritrea, and received in exchange 20 percent of U.S. economic aid and almost two-thirds of all U.S. military aid to the continent of Africa.

All the prerogatives of autonomy were gradually taken away by the Emperor Haile Selassie. Eritrean political leaders, who had not ceased to protest before the United Nations, took the road to exile, and armed struggle broke out in 1961. The following year Ethiopia annexed Eritrea outright. ■



Massawa, Eritrea's third largest city.

Wild, Wild



Today's roundups utilize both mounted horsemen and modern helicopters.

BY CHUCK FAGER

TWIN SPRINGS, NEVADA—FOR some wild horses, keeping their freedom is worth risking anything, even life.

Recently at the Palomino Valley holding corral northeast of Reno, a stallion, captured in a government roundup, furiously and successfully resisted three attempts to get him up a chute and into a truck waiting to take him to a new, adoptive home. Then, on the fourth try, he forced open a side panel of the loading chute, broke out and eluded pursuers with lassoes during three frantic circuits around the corral's outer perimeter. Finally the stallion charged the high chain-link outer fence, battered down a post far enough to leap over, and then galloped triumphantly off into the surrounding mountains.

"He's up there now," said one government wrangler later, gesturing past the new subdivision real estate signs toward the dry, tawny foothills dotted with juniper trees. "There's a band of 30 or 40 of

them up there, and he's probably taken charge of them by now." He spoke of the escaped horse with obvious respect.

A few days later, on the dusty sage-covered Owyhee Desert 70 miles northeast of Winemucca in north central Nevada, a mare who showed equal determination was not so lucky. One of 1,200 mustangs gathered there by the Bureau of Land Management of the Department of Interior to reduce pressure on the desert ecology, she had just been captured with 40-odd others and herded into a small holding corral before being trucked off to Palomino Valley.

While the other mustangs huddled in one corner of the corral's high board fence, the mare suddenly turned and made a mad, full-speed dash at the lower aluminum pipe gate at the opposite end. Maybe she mistook the daylight showing between the gate's slender, flattened X to mean no barrier at all, or thought she could force it open. She crashed into the gate head-on. Her wind-

pipe snapped like a dry twig and she recoiled into a trembling, unnaturally-angled heap, the grey dust of her collision swirling around her. Neck broken, she died almost instantly, eyes open.

As much as they crave their freedom, the mustangs here, like the rest of the wildlife on the Owyhee Desert, need other things even more—food, for one, and above all, water. Although recent rains have promised at least temporary relief, the two-year old western drought has posed serious problems for the wild mustangs. Waterholes have coagulated into flat platters of dried, wrinkled mud; creeks have become powdery gullies. With the vanishing water has gone much of the more delicate vegetation that the horses prefer. Only the pungent sagebrush remains seemingly unaffected: deep-rooted and ubiquitous, it is barely green anyway.

Ron Hall is the federal government's wild horse specialist here. His job is part of the preservation, management and control of "wild, free-roaming horses and burros" on public lands mandated by Congress in 1971 when it unanimously declared these animals a part of the national heritage.

Before then, mustangs had been gathered by the hundreds of thousands and sold, most ending up as dog food. Their advocates argued persuasively that without federal protection, the bands of wild horses, which had roamed the west since the days of the Spanish explorers, were in danger of extermination.

The 1971 legislation banned sale of wild horses taken from public lands; since most of Nevada, and huge chunks of other western states with significant wild horse populations are made up of public rangeland, the law put the "mustangers" largely out of business.

Since then the depleted bands have grown rapidly, at an estimated rate of 20 percent a year. Now some are competing with cattle grazed on the same land by ranchers with permits from the Bureau of Land Management (BLM).

The ranchers, who don't have much use for the horses anyway, have complained loudly. And all the range wildlife, because of the drought, is competing with nature.

In response, for two years now the Bureau has been rounding up selected numbers of horses in areas where the pressure on the ecosystem is determined to be greatest. Ranchers are also being required to decrease livestock grazing in the same area.

The captured mustangs are put up for adoption by citizens who have filled out a simple application and paid the horse's transportation from the holding corrals. But since the animals cannot be sold, the federal government retains formal title to them. If an adoption doesn't work out, the animal goes back to the Bureau's custody.

Ron Hall has spent many hours cruising above the Owyhee Desert in a small helicopter, tracking and counting the herds, watching the water disappear and cataloging its effects.

On a flight last fall Hall pointed out one of them: the mud-limned silhouette of a dead colt in a nearly dry pond. "The colts will wade right into the mud, trying to absorb moisture through their skin," he said. "And then some of them get stuck in it. That happened to four colts at the waterhole by Twin Springs where we have our trap. We managed to pull two of them out in time."

Hall is stocky, with red hair and a curly beard. He has worked with wild horses for five years and doesn't like to see them die. He took the mare's suicidal rush into the gate of the corral personally, as if the animal had been in his care for months rather than minutes. "We've lost four like that in transit," he explained grimly. "One got trampled in a truck going to Palomino Valley, a colt got squeezed to death in the loading chute, and another mare broke her leg in the corral. That's not a lot considering the number of horses we're moving, and the fact that they're wild. But it's too many for me."

IT'S ALSO TOO MANY FOR SOME ORGANIZED horse lovers. Joan Blue of Washington, D.C., is one, and she's president of the American Horse Protective Association. She wants the government to stop the roundups.

"We don't trust these guys," Blue says of the BLM. "We've taken them to court about the wild horses five times and won four times. We stopped a roundup planned in Idaho by court action, and tried to stop the Nevada roundups. Why? The cruelty to horses involved in these roundups, particularly the ones with helicopters, is beyond belief: they are winding the horses, stampeding them, separating mares from colts."

"The roundups are done we believe mostly for the benefit of ranchers in the vicinity, who don't like the horses. We feel that ranching is a subsidized industry, because they're using federal lands. We would rather see the livestock removed and the land turned over to the wildlife."

Blue doesn't like the adopt-a-horse program either. "Many adoptions are ending in much cruelty to the horses. The animals are given to people who know nothing about horses. And the BLM is not supervising the adoptions as it said it would."

Blue's sentiments are not shared, however, by Dawn Lappin of Reno Nevada. Lappin is adoption director for Wild Horse Organized Assistance (WHOA),

Before 1971 the wild mustangs were rounded up and sold for dog food. Now they're protected, and excess numbers are rounded up for adoption.

Horses



Photos/Mary Lous Leonard

the most potent of the mustang protection groups. WHOA was founded by Velma Johnston, a wild-horse activist who was known as "Wild Horse Annie" and became a legend in her own time. Johnston died of cancer last June, but WHOA is still very much alive.

WHOA began the first wild horse adoption program, before the BLM was interested. Now Dawn Lappin travels regularly all over Nevada, into Utah and California and elsewhere too, consulting with BLM officials, advising them on land management plans, inspecting their roundup operations and monitoring adoptions.

"It's easy to sit back and criticize the BLM," she said one recent afternoon, driving south from Reno toward Carson City. "And it's true that for years the Bureau mainly represented only the interests of the ranchers. But since the 1971 law, that's changing. Mrs. Johnston used to say that the Wild Horse Act marked the turning point in public land use policy, opening it up to more involvement by more people and interests, and that's right. Now I get called out all the time for meetings and emergencies of all types, and I believe the BLM now honestly wants public input."

For their part, many Nevada ranchers are coming, after years of resistance, to accept the changing patterns of public land use epitomized by the 1971 law.

The new president of the Nevada Cattlemen's Association, Bob Wright of Clover Valley south of Elko in the eastern part of the state, is a friendly, moderate man whose conciliatory approach to the issue is in marked contrast to that of his predecessors. In fact, he even insisted that "If somebody was to say 'Get rid of all the wild horses,' I'd be the first to raise my voice against it."

Wright runs cattle on about 43,000 acres of land in Nevada, about half of which is his and half publicly owned. His family has been ranching here for three generations, and his grown son and two small grandsons live in a house nearby. "We've got two more generations here," he said, "if we can stick it out."

Like other ranchers, the Wrights have been hit hard by price increases for fuel and supplies. The drought has caused serious problems. "I had springs dry up on me this year that have never been dry before," he said. "I had to sell some cattle and we were worried about the hay crop. The hay came out all right—we got some rain in May—but another year like this and we'll be in more trouble."

The pride with which he shows a visitor around his property, though, indicates that however tough the struggle may become, the Wrights won't give up easily.

BOB WRIGHT HAS BEEN AROUND wild horses since he was a child. "The original mustangs were a smaller kind of horse than the ones you see nowadays. My father used to gather them in the spring, brand the colts and break some of them. They made good tough riding horses, especially for kids."

Wright attributes the change in their size to the shift to machinery in agriculture. "People quit using horses as much and some just were let loose and they interbred."

Wright said he could live with the law that protected the mustangs. "But that same law that provided for preservation of the herds also called for management

and control," he noted. "The preservation part has been pretty well taken care of by now. But the management and control have been slower getting started."

As steps to improving these latter two programs, Wright and the Nevada Cattlemen's Association have made several recommendations to Congress: that the bands be maintained at the population level in 1971 when the law was passed; that some captured horses be shipped east to facilitate adoption by people outside the western states; that citizens adopting the horses be given title to them after a six-month period; and that horses that no one adopts be sold to the highest bidder, and the proceeds used for range improvements.

These proposals don't sound drastic, and Wright was hopeful of reaching an informal agreement about them with WHOA. These hopes were increased measurably last spring after he attended the first National Wild Horse Forum at the University of Nevada's Reno campus. "It was the first time we had ever really sat down with people from groups like WHOA and heard what everybody had to say. We found that we weren't as far apart on a lot of things as we had thought."

Dawn Lappin shared Bob Wright's estimate of the forum's usefulness. "An agreement between WHOA and the Nevada Cattlemen's Association on several

Lappin is ready to admit that the adoption program is not perfect. "I screen the applications that come in from this area, and we've had every kind of phony thing you can imagine: aliases, false addresses, nonexistent references. And our experience is that about 10 percent of the adoptions don't work out and the horse is returned or taken away from its first home. We're trying to set up a monitoring network with other concerned groups around the country. But even with its faults, I think the adoption program has to continue. We can't let nature take its course with these animals. Man created this situation: man brought the horses here, and then overgrazed and abused the land. Man messed it up, and now man has a responsibility to help repair it."

AS FOR THE ROUNDUPS THEMSELVES, Lappin was satisfied, contrary to Joan Blue's judgment, that the BLM has conducted them humanely. She had especially high praise for Ron Hall and his coworkers on the Owyhee roundup. "They have been very careful and very humane, I believe," she said.

In addition to being careful and humane, Ron Hall made catching the high-spirited mustangs look almost easy. When



Star was once a wild mustang; now he belongs to Ray Barnett of Carson City, Nev.

issues, reached informally, completely outside BLM channels, wasn't far off after last spring. But the process was stalled by Mrs. Johnston's death, and we're still getting WHOA reorganized. But I think it will come. The livestock owners' attitudes have been changing, and trust between them and us and the BLM and the public is slowly building up. There will be some on either end of the spectrum who won't accept agreement between WHOA and the cattlemen, I'm sure. I'll probably have to fight the humane societies then, instead of the government and the ranchers.

he spotted a band of mustangs from the air, he had the pilot circle down toward the lead stallion, buzzing low over it and diverting him and the band toward the concealed trap.

The trap was built around the waterhole at Twin Springs. Concealed fences ran from its mouth along both sides of a deep gully for several hundred yards. When a band is coming, wranglers wait hidden at several points along its length behind outcroppings of rugged rock.

As the horses approached the trap opening, the helicopter's maneuvering became more serpentine. The pilot, Joe

Duffy of Milford, Utah, was a Vietnam veteran who handled the craft smoothly and quickly.

At just the right moment Ron Hall switched on a siren that wailed like an ambulance in heavy traffic, an utterly incongruous sound in the desert. For further emphasis he tossed down a big wildlife firecracker, which went off with a boom and a puff of light-blue smoke. The strange noises kept the horses headed into the gully's mouth.

As they passed the opening of the trap mounted wranglers emerged from behind a screen of rocks on either side of the gully and took up the chase shouting and waving their dust-stained hats. Behind the wranglers several more men scrambled across the width of the gully and lifted up a chest-high piece of green plastic, forming what would look to the mustangs like a fence with human posts if they turned and tried to escape back the way they came.

Once the mustangs galloped past the first pool of the Twin Springs waterhole, they were caught for certain. A gate there was swung shut and latched by one of the pursuing wranglers as he went past it.

Hall sat watching the conclusion of the maneuver from the hovering helicopter, then veered off and away to find another band. The use of aircraft in the roundups is new. It had been banned by federal authorities long before the Wild Horse Act was passed. WHOA's Velma Johnston had opposed amendment of the act to permit their use until her death; but it was an indication of the rapprochement between her group and the agency that WHOA did not actively fight the recent change.

The helicopters are certainly more efficient than the previous year's all-mounted roundups. By last fall the BLM had rounded up almost 5,000 horses from the western rangeland, 1,200 from the Owyhee alone.

But even at that rate, the government had not prevented drought-withered nature from taking its implacable course.

"The horses we've been getting from Owyhee," Dawn Lappin reported in early November, "have been so listless and generally run down that we've been having to keep them here for up to two weeks, feeding them and giving them veterinary attention, before we can put them up for adoption."

The Owyhee herds, minus the 1,200 that have now been removed, were supposed to be able to survive on the land available to them. As the drought continued, that ability was in serious doubt.

"The winter should be a crucial test," Lappin said. "If we have a hard winter, which we desperately need, many of the horses won't be strong enough to survive it. On the other hand, if we don't have a hard winter, then next spring we're liable to lose them because of lack of water."

These ominous prospects put another light on the roundups. They started out as part of the management and control phases of the BLM programs. But as the landscape became progressively drier and less supportive, the roundups shifted towards being acts of preservation.

As Dawn Lappin put it: "The horses in the corrals at Palomino Valley are really the lucky ones. They're not free anymore, but at least they're alive, and chances are they'll be taken care of. That's more than we can say about the horses still out on that desert."

Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer in Washington. He followed the mustang roundup last fall.

An "Open Door" in South Africa

It was only with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique in 1974 that the American government's policy toward southern Africa began to change. The policy shift, however, is designed to serve the same long-term objective of preserving as much of that area as possible for world capitalism and, therefore, of preventing revolutions dedicated to socialism.

As long as white supremacy remained a viable bulwark of capitalism in southern Africa, American diplomacy and corporate strategy supported it to the hilt. Now that white supremacy has been defeated in Mozambique and Angola, is on its last legs in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) and Namibia (Southwestern Africa), and is becoming more a cause of than a bulwark against revolutionary opposition in South Africa, American policy-makers are searching for some alternative.

The relationship between the U.S. and South Africa stands at the heart of the search for a new policy. This is because the land of apartheid is the bastion of southern African capitalism and, with its strategic location and mineral resources (gold, diamonds, chrome, iron ore, uranium), it is a key link in the multinational chain of world capitalism. What happens in South Africa, moreover, will ultimately determine the outcome in the rest of southern Africa and very likely in central Africa as well.

Capitalism and racialism.

The South African connection makes it impossible for the American government to choose policies unequivocally devoted to racial equality, majority rule, and African self-determination.

In southern Africa, capitalism is identified with colonialism and racialism. Capital is white; labor is black. Affluence, privilege, and such dwindling liberties as exist are white; poverty, dispossession, and disfranchisement are black. The national liberation movements against colonialism and racism have become socialist movements against capitalism. This is true in Angola and Mozambique where national independence has been attained; it is true in Zimbabwe (the Patriotic Front), Namibia (South West African People's Organization), and South Africa (African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress, South African Student Organization, Black People's Convention) where the national liberation movements are predominantly socialist or Marxist in their avowed outlooks.

These movements have no compunctions against taking aid from communist countries, which have been the only source of sustained assistance. They have received no such aid from the major capitalist powers, but on the contrary hostility and opposition. The people of these movements are convinced by their long experience of the failure of peaceful pleading that armed struggle is their only recourse. Formulas for gradual transitions that fall short of immediate majority rule are now too little and too late in Zimbabwe and Namibia. In South Africa, not even the shadow of such cosmetic formulas is forthcoming.

Policy impasse.

The Carter administration's stated southern Africa policy in verbally opposing white supremacy, seeks nonviolent change that prevents revolution. But non-violent reform has not availed against white supremacy anywhere in southern

Africa and, given the reactionary intransigence of the National party's political despotism, it has no prospects at all in South Africa.

American policy is therefore at an impasse made inevitable by its being rooted in the long-standing anti-revolutionary objective. In the wake of the Vietnam war and in view of world opinion, including that of Afro-Americans and anti-apartheid white Americans, the administration cannot seriously contemplate direct military intervention against the southern African liberation movements. At the same time, it cannot turn resolutely against white supremacy from fear that with its collapse capitalism in southern Africa would have little secure future.

The preservation of capitalism in southern Africa remains the central American objective not simply from the need to protect American corporate interests, but from the profoundly destabilizing impact its demise would exert upon the economy of Britain, and though less so upon that of Germany and France, and therefore upon world capitalism in general.

Romance and false panaceas.

The administration's policy is still in the process of searching for a way out of the impasse. Since it cannot openly commit itself clearly for or against white supremacy, an air of confusion may be its amoral equivalent of finesse. As best as can be made out, its tentative strategy is to buy time with general statements against racialism in principle, and by commending to southern Africans a romanticized version of the American South's model of moderate accommodation, combined with the traditional Yankee panacea of economic development (under "free enterprise") as the painless road to progress and democracy.

The southern African national liberation movements do not find this policy credibly consistent with their own objectives. Nor should we.

The American South is not a valid analogue to the situation in southern Africa. The gaining of formal civil rights and suffrage by a black minority under circumstances that do not remotely involve a threat to the capitalist order, is one thing. The attainment of full equality by a black majority that identifies the end of racism and colonialism with ending (white) capitalism, is quite another. It is well to remember, too, that no significant change in American blacks' conditions occurred while they comprised majorities in large concentrated areas of the South. With *de jure* civil rights and the vote, moreover, the *de facto* inequality of American blacks even under the world's richest capitalism may not represent the most attractive prospect for southern Africans.

The argument for progress and democracy via corporate-capitalist development is little substantiated by recent history. It is also fatally flawed by its key assumption that the Afrikaners will become more intransigent under intense external pressure and isolating sanctions, but good liberals under the influence of cooperative multinational corporations and economic prosperity.

It has been precisely in the recent period, 1960-1974, of unprecedented economic growth and prosperity fueled by massive foreign investment, that the system of racial subjugation has been intensified and made much more brutal. The tripling of American corporate direct investment between 1966 and the mid-



Forced labor in South Africa: African workers, under police guard, involuntarily recruited for low wage work give white capital superprofits.

1970s (now standing at \$1.6 billion book value), and the infusion of American bank loans totaling between \$2 and \$3 billion, largely parallels in time this hardening of apartheid and the further restriction of liberties even for white dissidents.

Multinational corporate investment in South Africa, moreover, has been fueled by prospects of whopping profits—15-20 percent on investment until the current recession that began in 1974. These profits have their source in cheap black labor and low social spending that could not survive the end of apartheid. (Black workers' wages in manufacturing are five times less than white, and in mining eight times less.) Only the naive can give much credence to the multinational corporation as the instrument of ending apartheid. The African liberation leaders were not born yesterday.

The white South Africans will not give up apartheid so long as they prosper from it. They will relent, if at all, like the southern Rhodesian whites, only when racialism's costs become unbearable or they are forced to by external pressures and internal rebellion. The blacks have little to gain from corporate "prosperity" and little or nothing to lose from economic crisis.

"Open door" for revolution.

Americans can best aid the cause of equality, self-determination, democracy, and human rights in southern Africa by opposing any administration policy that does not definitively break with white supremacy in South Africa, the lynchpin of reaction in the entire region. Specifically, the administration should be pressured to adopt the following measures:

- Support in the UN, rather than veto, comprehensive political and economic sanctions against South Africa, in addition to the military embargo already in place.
- Support the liberation movements in southern Africa with educational and

medical aid, credits, and active support for black dissidents, including asylum for refugees and fugitives.

- Acknowledge publicly the right of southern Africans to revolution against despotism.

- End Export-Import Bank and Department of Agriculture credits and guarantees for transactions with South Africa.

- Discourage further corporate investment and bank loans to South Africa, withdraw tax breaks for operations there, and let American corporations and banks know that they will henceforth operate in South Africa at their own risk and cannot expect American government help in the event of conflict with African revolutionaries.

- End nuclear cooperation with South Africa and NATO collaboration with the South African military.

- End intelligence cooperation with South Africa.

- Prohibit the sale of South African gold in the U.S. (gold exports account for 40 percent of South Africa's foreign exchange).

- Influence Iran (South Africa's main oil source) and American oil corporations (the chief refiners) to abide by the international oil boycott of South Africa.

- Extend diplomatic, economic, and security support to the frontline African states affected adversely by conflict with and within South Africa.

The struggle around these demands (and others like them) implies the struggle against American anti-revolutionary corporate objectives. It is part and parcel of the effort to change America's role in the world from leader of the forces of counter-revolution to champion of the "open door" for self-determination and human equality. In southern Africa, that means nothing less than supporting the right of revolution that Americans asserted against the British 200-years ago. It would be a fitting change in these first years of the nation's third century. ■

Letters

Fanning the flames

Editor:

Your editorial of Jan. 11 fell into the trap of most American papers by repeating two naive positions:

- "...Begin has shown more flexibility than most experts anticipated"; and
- "PLO recognition of Israeli statehood... seems to be a more direct route to Palestinian statehood."

Begin's position can be called anything but "flexible," and was eloquently described by Peled (p. 17): "Begin's peace plan... does not include any provision that would substantially alter Israeli occupation."

As to the question of recognition of Israel, look what Sadat's recognition of Israel got him: nothing of substance. The Israelis expect a self-respecting nation to accept foreign settlements on its soil. Sadat is still waiting for the Israelis' "answer." While the rest of us have already learned an important lesson: the Israelis not only do not understand generosity of spirit, they do not have it and do not know how to deal with it.

Begin still does not recognize "a Palestinian people." There will be peace only when the Israelis recognize that they have committed an injustice against Palestinians in 1948 and 1967 and are willing to do something about them. Goodwill has to first come from the aggressor, Israel. Right now, Israel's high and mighty attitude is adding fuel to Palestinian grievances.

—Grayb Najjar
Terre Haute, Ind.

But Hedy Lamar is Jewish

Editor:

Cedric Belfrage (*ITT*, Jan. 11) refers to Charlie Chaplin remembering his "poor Jewish origins." Cedric could not have paid much attention to Chaplin's autobiography, in which he spoke of his Christian background.

This is possibly a common error. A social-minded Hollywood comedian. Just as many people assume that a progressive baby doctor named Benjamin is Jewish. (Spock comes from old-line Dutch Anglican antecedents.)

All a compliment of sorts to the Jewish tradition of social concern. While Chaplin's (or anyone else's) religious background is of little moment, let's keep the journalistic record straight on facts, and not discriminate against Christian fighters for a better world.

—George B. Gordon
Redondo Beach, Calif.

A spotty record

Editor:

Why is Saul Wellman so surprised at the duplicity of the CPUSA in its treatment of Santiago Carrillo, the leader of the Spanish CP? Are his memory and his knowledge of history faulty?

Has he forgotten the entire history of the party? The 1925 physical attacks on Raphael Abramovich, the Russian Socialist; the attempt to keep Abramovich out of the U.S. by planting fraudulent documents aimed at proving he was an agent of Emma Goldman? Is he ignorant of the assaults on socialists during the late 1920s and 1930s, culminating in the attack on the anti-fascist meeting called by the socialists in Madison Square Garden, New York, in February 1934?

Does he not know of the lies and framed evidence used against Jay Lovestone and his followers during the 1929-30 period? That erstwhile leader of the CPUSA was being ousted by the party's Russian rulers? Does comrade

Wellman not remember the scurrilous anti-Trotskyist vendettas of the CPUSA? Has he no knowledge of the CP's support of the Smith Act when it was used to imprison Trotskyist leaders—support that included actual feeding of "evidence" to the prosecutors? Has the slaughter of members of the Partido Obrero Unificado Marxista by La Pasionaria's—and Companero Carrillo's—own party slipped his mind? Perhaps the ghost of Andres Nin will reactivate his memory cells.

Or does he need reminders of the dishonest subservience of the CPUSA to its Muscovite mentors from the defamation of Browder in the late 1940s—a defamation which included the use of misquotation, entrapment, and misrepresentation, the vituperation during the 1950s of those who could not swallow the Khrushchev revelations or the Hungarian repressions—including Clarence Hathway's "testimony" against Alex Bittelman (a new low even for the Communist party).

The leopard never changes its spots nor the skunk its stench—even when either is merely a puppet.

—Bernard K. Johnpoll
Albany, N.Y.

Fight the censor

Editor:

The readers of *ITT* are invited to participate in a national research project to compile "The Ten Best Censored Stories of 1977." (See Alvah Bessie, *ITT*, Nov. 2, 1977.)

They can help the public learn more about what is happening in society by nominating stories they feel should have received more coverage in the mass media.

The story should be current and of national social significance. It may have received no media attention at all, appeared in the back pages of a newspaper, or in a small circulation magazine.

Last year's national panel of judges, including Ben Begdikian, Dr. Noam Chomsky, Robert Cirino, Nicholas Johnson, Victor Marchetti, Dr. Jack L. Nelson, Jerry terHorst, and Sheila Ross Weidenfeld, selected Jimmy Carter's little known relationship with David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission as the "best censored story of 1976."

To nominate a "best censored story of 1977," just send information about the story, or a copy of the story if available, including the source, address, and date, to Dr. Carl Jensen, Project Censored, Department of Sociology, Sonoma State College, Rohnert Park, CA 94928.

—Dr. Carl Jensen
Sonoma State College
Rohnert Park, Calif.

Ticky Ben?

Editor:

Ben Margolis, in *Dialog* (*ITT*, Jan. 11), attacks the proposition that we should support freedom of speech for our declared enemies. His procedure is to attribute this belief to a number of assumptions and then find fault with the assumptions.

This is a tricky rhetorical device, not a valid argument. We no longer accept the ancient assumptions why we should expect to see the sun rise in the east, but we still expect to see it rise there. To disprove my conclusion that A is west of B, it serves no purpose to challenge the assumptions that led me to that conclusion, let alone the assumptions someone may imagine led me to it; no one needs instead to show that A is not west of B. Margolis cannot do that with the proposition that we either support free speech for our enemies or forfeit our own claim to it as a broad human right.

—Fred Thompson
Chicago

We're humming

Editor:

Don't you know that the left doesn't have a sense of humor? (Answer: No, but if you hum the tune, I can fake it...) I suggest that you start a jokes and hu-

mor column, made up of contributions by readers. For example:

Q: Why didn't those attending a socialist meeting cross the road?

A: Because it wasn't on the agenda.

Or, I'd be quite willing to contribute some of my collection of trotskyst songs—such as:

*'Twas from her I learned my first party line,
But now she's in heaven,
'Cause she's leftier than Lenin,
That trotskyst mama of mine.*

But really, Barbara Ehrenreich's Almanac column was great. I haven't laughed like that since Jimmy Weinstein split his pants.

—Ed Shoenfeld
Berkeley, Calif.

The ITT connection

Editor:

Thanks for the editorial—and articles—on farms. I grew up in farming country (Sioux City, Iowa) and I've been a socialist for several years, but I was never able to connect the two. You've made a good start.

Also, the report on Ken Cockrel's electoral victory was both enlightening and encouraging.

—Norty Wheeler
Tucson, Ariz.

Useful and unique

Editor:

We constantly find *ITT* a good source of news and opinions that we can't find elsewhere—and we do subscribe to a number of publications. You are providing an in-depth and "real-world" perspective that others lack, and we particularly find the international coverage useful and unique.

—Cynthia Duncan
Berea, Ky.

And now we give you Dan Marshall

Editor:

Keep up the outrageously good work. Dan Marshall's coverage is tops. He quotes well, which is saying a lot for any journalist these days, and particularly for somebody covering labor. Where so often an "outsider" only sees the tip of the iceberg.

—James E. Potterson
San Jose, Calif.

Socialist Roloids

Editor:

We would like to request the back issues of the energy series you ran during the summer of 1977. We would like to utilize the material for curriculum in our program, and to use the information to promote job possibilities for the low income high school students participating in the EASY program.

Your paper is one of the finest I have ever read. You provide a positive focus for the many socialists who are currently trying to build effective organizations and programs "in the belly of the beast."

Thank you.

—Karen Godsil
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Arty Forarty?

Editor:

I wonder what qualifies someone as a "great human being" in Cedric Belfrage's eyes. His piece on Charlie Chaplin (*ITT*, Jan. 11) was presumably an obituary (though it failed to mention Chaplin's death). Instead, it used the occasion of Chaplin's death for another polemic against McCarthyism.

Belfrage criticizes the House Un-American Activities committee for pointing at Chaplin's (largely nonexistent) political life, then makes the same mistake himself. He does a disservice to Chaplin, whom we will remember not for his weaknesses, nor for his contributions to good causes, but as a truly great artist.

—Maxim McDougal
Chicago

Dolphins

Editor:

Do you know that 104,000 dolphins were killed last year because of the big nets they use to catch tuna?

I ask the people who read this to boycott tunafish! Please only buy white tunafish because it is caught with a hook and line, not nets. Thank you.

—Matthew Guritz
Parents' School
Chicago

Socialist Democrats?

Editor:

G. William Domhoff's piece on socialist electoral policy (*ITT*, Jan. 18) offers a challenge to those who want to change the political direction of the U.S. It is practical because the left has institutions with the resources needed to develop comprehensive social programs that challenge capitalist priorities and people with the energy and skill needed to organize socialist electoral campaigns.

Electoral activity in the Democratic party is necessary to force socialists out of their sectarian isolation and into constructive dialogue with the constituencies of women, labor and Afro-Americans that form the social base of the Democratic party.

But I disagree with his idea of focusing on presidential primaries. We need to start with the legislative branch, where socialists can participate in institutions more accessible to the electorate and continue the political struggle by turning campaign programs into legislative activity.

—Jerry W. Jenks
Ithaca, N.Y.

Socialism and the cities

Editor:

Socialists might make a significant political impact by challenging corporate power in the cities. Yet, T.D. Allman's "Little help for the cities," (*ITT*, Jan. 11) raises no criticisms of the Carter program for the cities that suggest socialist alternatives. A socialist newspaper has a responsibility to report the news—what Rohayton, Nick Carbone, Henry Reuss, or Patricia Harris say about the Carter program matters. But Allman's piece should have gone much further. His one stab at an alternative—Paul DuBrul's comment that we can solve urban problems with money—doesn't make it.

The urban crisis is a key manifestation of the general capitalist crisis. Socialists should suggest political programs that challenge capital's dominion over the political economy of our cities. We should evaluate Carter's urban programs on that basis: Do they challenge corporate disinvestment in the cities? Do they propose the creation of public institutions to reinvest the cities' wealth and develop our cities democratically? Do they unite or divide the victims of the cities?

—Sally Hellerman
Dubuque, Ia.

BE A MINI-DISTRIBUTOR OF ITT

Order bundles of 5 (10, 15, up to 25) copies of *In These Times* to be mailed directly to you every week for three months. You pay us in advance, at 20¢ a copy, and help us expand circulation.

Are you a natural?

Then fill in the coupon below:

Name _____

Street _____

Town/State/Zip _____

Send me a bundle of _____ copies. \$_____ enclosed is payment for 3 months at 20¢ each copy.

From the grassroots Black agriculture in the seventies



The black farmer, once the backbone of the black American economy, is facing extinction. The economic system in America, called "free enterprise" by those who profit from it and "monopoly capitalism" by its critics, has given birth to great hopes and even greater frustrations for thousands of small Southern farmers. The illusion that has persisted up to the '70s that small black and white farmers could survive the introduction of big business into Southern agriculture has finally collapsed.

On the surface, Southern farming seems to be a growing, thriving avenue for potential black economic advancement and achievement. In the 30 years after 1940, for example, the percentage of Alabama land owned by blacks increased over 50 percent. The average number of acres per farm increased 128 percent between 1940 to 1969, and average farm net incomes increased sharply.

These rosy statistics do not reveal the basic cancer at the heart of Southern agricultural development—the domination of a handful of corporations over the recent development of farming in the region.

Here are some startling statistics on Alabama that seldom reach the back pages of Southern farm journals or newspapers:

Since 1940, the total number of farms in Alabama has declined to only 60,000, a 75 percent drop within a single generation.

The top 5 percent of Alabama farms account for 53 percent of agricultural

sales.

The bottom 60 percent of Alabama farms, with annual sales of less than \$3000, account for approximately 5 percent of farm sales.

By 1971, the best timber growing land in Alabama was owned by five giant corporations: Kimberly Clark, 432,000 acres; International Paper, 380,000 acres; Gulf States, 355,000 acres; Scott Paper, 302,000 acres; St. Regis Paper, 280,000 acres. The total land owned by the giant paper corporations was in excess of 3,200,000 acres.

The domination of giant corporations over produce farming is especially apparent. In the chicken and egg industry, Alabama's leading agricultural business, independent farmers have been forced out of business at an alarming rate. Companies like Ralston-Purina and others purchase about 95 percent of all chickens. These companies dole out small change to farmers from which all their operations must be financed. Today, most chicken farms are lucky to net \$1.60 an hour.

Black farmers own less than 5 percent of all farm acreage. Between 1950 and 1971, the number of black-operated farms in the South dropped from 560,000 to 98,000. Since 1954, black folks have been losing Southern land at the rate of 333,000 acres per year.

Statistics in the other Southern states are similar to those for Alabama. Since 1959, the percentage of acres owned by blacks has declined in Texas and Louisi-

ana by 33 and 29 percent respectively. About half of all the farmers in Georgia account for 2 percent of all agricultural sales in any given year, while the top 10 percent of Georgia's farmer-capitalist elite reap 60 percent of total sales. Small farmers are becoming as rare as honesty from one's senators and representatives.

The expansion of capitalism into the Southern states after World War II effectively destroyed the possibility of an agriculturally based, Southern black middle class. Blacks who for generations had owned large homesteads were forced off the land by corporations, and were forced to migrate north or to work in Southern boomtowns like Charlotte, Birmingham, Atlanta, Memphis or Jacksonville. From 1954 to 1969, black farm owners declined in number in Alabama from 18,408 to 7,226, a 60 percent decrease. From 1959 to 1969, the number of acres owned by black Alabamians declined by 50 percent, from 1,262,583 acres to 636,859.

The rapid transformation of the South's economy toward corporation-controlled agriculture has important political consequences. Land owning blacks provided a major force for the rural civil rights movement during the '50s and early '60s. Black farmers were active in voter registration campaigns, are more likely to run for public office than non-landowning, rural black people, and consistently provided a solid electoral base for independent black political activism, such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party.

Blacks throughout the South owned less than six million acres by 1974, and own perhaps only five million acres today. The destruction of a black agricultural base has, in turn, led to the demise of rural black political power and influence, and has tended to create black urban-oriented politicians who are little aware of rural problems.

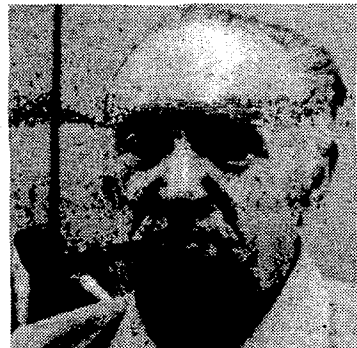
The civil rights movement and the subsequent rise and fall of black power did little to stop the expulsion of black property-owners from the countryside and the mushrooming problems of black flight to Southern cities. Stressing political style and rhetoric over an analysis of changing economic conditions, black politicians were ill-prepared to comprehend the dilemma of black land loss.

Neither the Carter administration's pious sermons on black employment nor apologies from liberal representatives of the agricultural-corporate establishment can rebuild the promise of black rural economic development. Under existing economic rules in the U.S., the rugged, hard-working farmer will become just another worthless cog in the corporate means of production. Until the rules of the game are changed, there will be no such thing as black economic equality, either in the cities or on the land.

Manning Marable is chairperson of the Department of Political Science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World.

Sidney Lens

If you think MAD is insane consider what "first strike" will mean



In 1967 Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara concocted a nuclear strategy with a priceless acronym, MAD—"mutual assured destruction." Each superpower would feel secure, the Secretary said, if it knew it could inflict "unacceptable" damage on the other. For the U.S., he said, that would mean a capability "to destroy, say one-fifth to one-fourth of the Soviet population and one-half of its industrial capacity."

Most Americans believe that MAD—or "balance of terror," or "deterrence," or "finite deterrence" as it is sometimes called—is the actual policy of their government. Since both sides know they can destroy the other, no matter who pushes the button first, we ordinary mortals are safe from nuclear attack. Neither nation—unless its leaders go berserk—will dare initiate atomic holocaust.

In recent years a host of writers have severely questioned Washington's claim that it seeks merely a "retaliatory"—second strike—capability. None has done it more scientifically or meticulously than a 51-year-old former lead engineer at Lockheed, Robert C. Aldridge. Aldridge, who helped design three generations of Polaris submarine-launched missiles, as well as the re-entry vehicle for the multiple-warhead Poseidon and Trident missiles quit Lockheed in 1973. In a devastating analysis of the present American nuclear arsenal he proves that the Pentagon is not preparing a "second" strike, but a "first" strike surprise attack against the Soviets. *The Counterforce Syndrome: A Guide to U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine*, just published by the Transnational Institute, is heavy reading, in spots but indispensable for those who would like to see this small planet preserved.

To implement the doctrine of "deterrence" (or MAD), "our strategic wea-

pons," Aldridge writes, "would be aimed at Russian cities and industrial areas. Those types of targets are vulnerable and our missiles would not have to be very powerful or extremely accurate. One of Poseidon's 50-kiloton bombs (equal to 50,000 tons of TNT), for instance, exploding within a half-mile of a city's center would incinerate the populace." One hundred Poseidon-type bombs launched against the top 100 Russian cities would kill 24.8 percent of the USSR's population and shatter half of its industry—in other words, provide the "assured destruction" McNamara talked about. "Allowing for repairs and maintenance, misfires, Soviet defenses, and the perceived Chinese threat, 400 warheads would be more than adequate." Just three Poseidon submarines (out of 31) contain more than that number—and those submarines "remain safely out of reach of Soviet assaults." For "finite deterrence," in other words, three Poseidons, each with 16 missiles and 160 warheads, are plenty.

Why then, Aldridge asks, does the U.S. arsenal now contain 9,000 deliverable strategic warheads and 22,000 tactical nuclear bombs? "Under the deterrent philosophy those numbers do not make sense. The very existence of that many weapons, however, implies a darker and more sinister military doctrine"—namely "counterforce."

Under "counterforce"—as distinguished from "counter-city" or "counter-value" missiles "are aimed at Russia's military targets such as missile silos, nuclear stockpiles, command and communication centers and the like." Those targets are hard, heavily encased in concrete, and must be hit before they unload their weapons—otherwise our bombs would explode on empty holes. The guiding principle for "counterforce" is accuracy, delivery

systems that come down not a half-mile from their target but a tenth of a mile, or better still, a few yards. That is precisely what the military is working on, and has been "clandestinely" since the 1950s.

The bulk of the brochure elaborates on this thesis, primarily by giving us an engineer's insight into the wonder weapons already deployed or soon to be deployed. By way of example—and without going into mathematical detail—the old Minuteman-2 missile with a 1-megaton bomb (one million tons of TNT equivalent) had a "circular error probability" (CEP) of .3 nautical miles, and a "lethality" of 11. But the Minuteman-3, equipped with three 170-kiloton warheads has a CEP of .2 nautical miles and a lethality of 22; thus with only half the explosive power, the Minuteman-3 has twice the kill capability.

MIRV—the multiple independently-targeted re-entry vehicle such as the one on the Minuteman 3—has already vastly increased Uncle Sam's first strike potential. But that is only the beginning. Since 1969 the U.S. has been improving accuracy through the "stellar inertial guidance system (SIG)," which "takes a reading on the stars or a satellite to update the missile's navigation computer." The Navstar satellite global positioning system, which will be ready in the 1980's, "will give true position in three dimensions" and be even more accurate. Finally, the MARV (maneuverable reentry vehicle), already in a late stage of development, will be able to maneuver around enemy anti-ballistic missiles, and reach targets with almost pinpoint accuracy, literally "within a few feet."

There is no need to go any further into the many esoteric weapons now on the drawing boards or ready for big-time production—the MX missile, the cruise, the Trident, and what have you.

What has inhibited the "first strike"

strategy until now is that there has been no way to effectively demolish the other side's nuclear submarines. They have been considered "invulnerable," meaning that even if all Russian land-based missiles could be destroyed, the submarines could still discharge their lethal bundles, killing scores of millions of Americans. In a lengthy chapter on anti-submarine warfare, however, Aldridge details new tracking techniques (in which the U.S. is aeons ahead of the Soviet Union) by which the Russian submarines may already have lost their invulnerability or are about to do so.

To put all this in laymen's terms, the Pentagon is reaching a stage where it will have the ability to destroy almost all the Soviet forces—missiles, subs, bombers—if it strikes first. The cost—what the military calls "damage limitation"—might only be a few millions, perhaps "only" ten or 20 million American dead, whereas the Russian cost would be many times as high, enough to terminate the Soviet Union's existence as a viable nation.

The United States, Aldridge concludes, will have the weapons to "inflict an unanswerable first strike...by the mid-1980s." The Soviet Union, meanwhile, will also acquire a first strike capability, but as Aldridge puts it, it "seems to be struggling for a second best."

This is certainly the most alarming development of this—or any other—century. It greatly magnifies the possibility of actual nuclear confrontation. It should propel all of us to join the efforts of Mobilization for Survival to force all nations, but particularly the leading one, the U.S., to progressively cut back toward the only goal that really assures security, zero nuclear weapons.

Sidney Lens is a veteran journalist. His latest book is *The Day Before Doomsday* for Doubleday.

Hugh Delacy

'Eurocommunism' and the state

'Eurocommunism' and the State
By Santiago Carrillo
Lawrence and Wishart, London
1977, paper

In *'Eurocommunism' and the State*, Santiago Carrillo proposes a new approach to socialist revolution for technologically advanced, capitalist democracies. Differentiated from social democracy, which begins and ends in the gaining of benefits under capitalism through sharing the responsibilities of government with the bourgeoisie, Carrillo seeks the transformation of capitalist economic, political and social life peacefully, through universal suffrage, into a socialist democracy.

A Marxist to the core, Carrillo emphasizes the difference between the conditions in countries that hatched socialist revolutions and those in Western Europe. Drawing upon his 40 years of experience as a Communist, he also analyzes the sharpest social contradictions within the Western European countries and skillfully reviews Marx's, Lenin's and Engels' ideas about democracy and the state.

This book was written in an exciting Spanish context. Although the Spanish Communist party (PCE) had not yet been legalized and Carrillo, its general secretary, was in hiding in Spain when he wrote, the huge demonstrations demanding political liberty validated the new political "line" which had been adopted by the PCE in April, 1956.

Meeting in Bucharest for a month, a plenary meeting of the PCE's Central Committee intensely debated the issues raised by the entry of Spain into the UN. Initially, most members thought UN membership for Franco Spain violated the legality of the Spanish Republic and its institutions. Carrillo and a minority urged that the party break with a strategy rooted in a past situation. Insisting that it "take account of reality," and "see that a part of the legal forces were ready to abandon Franco provided that a way out was found for them," the minority urged the party to work in the light of the changed conditions in Spain. The Committee then adopted a new strategy, the strategy of "national reconciliation," which recognized the latent oppositional relationships in Spain and sought to converge diverse groups against the dictatorship.

The resolution to rid Spain of "solutions" imposed by the dictatorship and

to create conditions under which their country could solve its problems democratically came to be shared by theologians, Communists, business men, working men and women, representatives of Spain's nationalities, artists, intellectuals, salaried professionals, teachers and state employees (the "forces of culture" as Carrillo calls them).

This vibrant political inter-relationship, and his own party's involvement in it, turned Carrillo to the working out of a theoretical basis for a democratic route to socialism and to a series of proposals for democratizing economic and political life. His analysis of the chief social conflicts in the advanced capitalist states follows:

1. The state organization operates primarily for the benefit of monopoly capitalism. The general population, through a discriminatory taxation system, pays for government measures to make industry profitable.

2. The function of ideological structures in capitalist countries is to support the ways of capitalist life. But the Catholic church is split on how to adapt its teachings to modern science and to issues like abortion, contraception, and divorce, as well as the degree to which it may or should collaborate with Communists for social justice.

In the family, a pillar of the *status quo*, the authority of the father is diminishing. Sons and daughters educated and looking for the new jobs made possible by technological expansion, cannot be held to old ways of thought or to past standards of conduct.

The European political system, in power since World War II, is unstable. "The set-up of political and social forces built around parties, trade unions, social movements, etc., on which the particular regime relies" has weakened in Sweden, West Germany, France, England. In Portugal, Spain, and Italy, more radical shifts are taking place.

Television, radio, and most of the press speak for the ruling class. Instead of bringing culture to the nation, they alienate and brutalize. The precondition for influencing their output is "the struggle for genuine freedom of culture," for in a flourishing culture, "revolutionary and progressive ideas can establish themselves."

3. The armed forces, the most powerful coercive arm of the state, have been thrust into roles that conflict with the patriotism and professionalism of their officers. They have been sent to win mil-

itary victories over liberation movements where only a political settlement could be effective. Diverting the army from its proper function of defending the nation to become killers for imperialists has demoralized officers and troops. The political effect of this was seen in Portugal on April 25, 1974.

These are among the deep-seated social contradictions that spring from monopoly capitalism's command of the state. They are incompatible, in Carrillo's opinion, with the long term satisfaction of the needs of the population. Here is the social basis for a vast political, anti-monopoly formation, one not limited to the conflict between capitalists and workers but between the monopolists and a nationwide formation of all who suffer from them.

Spanish neutrality.

Carrillo urges a democratic, socialist Spain, independent of the superpowers whose military blocs divide Europe. The political implications of this position have alarmed both the State department and the Communist parties of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Interviewed by *Time*, June 20, 1977, Kissinger's attitude was summed up thus: "[Communist]" participation in Western European governments would... turn it [NATO] by default into a largely German-American alliance, threaten the balance of power between East and West and undermine European unity."

Orthodox communists are equally concerned. Henry Winston, head of the CPUSA, mentioned this issue adversely ten times in a short article in *Political Affairs*, October 1977. A sterner Soviet critic, writing in *New Times*, #27, 1977, said, "A Europe 'independent of the USSR and the U.S.'... implies the division of the democratic forces and the communist movement on the continent into two parts... Carrillo's interpretations of 'Eurocommunism' accords solely with the interests of imperialism."

Carrillo's reasons are worth reciting. World peace depends, for now at least, on the maintenance of a precarious balance of nuclear terror. Kissinger's warning was not so veiled. Participation of Communists in the governments of the Western nations would threaten the existing European balance. If one or more of those states were to shift from NATO to the Warsaw Pact, West Germany and its chief ally, the U.S., would consider themselves isolated on the continent.

Not only might that have perilous consequences, but any government East or West that appeared ready to shift alignment would experience intervention, either for Kissinger's reasons or under the principles of the Brezhnev Doctrine, announced after the invasion of Czechoslovakia. A movement to bring about social revolution by force in a Western European country, or the tipping of the military balance in Europe could generate a nuclear holocaust and wipe out the classes engaged in social conflict, ending their dreams with their lives.

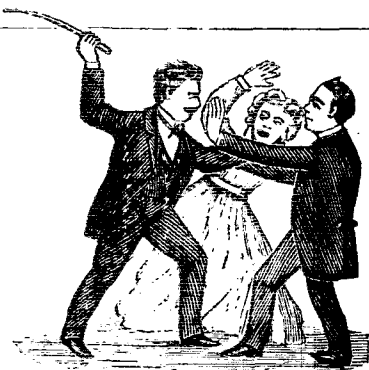
Now if social revolutions may be achieved *either* by force *or* by a species of democratic advance, and if, under certain specified conditions—like those suggested—they cannot be achieved by force, then they will be achieved either by democratic means or not at all.

For the Bolsheviks and for the Chinese Communists, there was no other way to have proceeded except the way each chose. Other social revolutions, except in Czechoslovakia, also took place in technologically backward, non-democratic, and undeveloped capitalist countries. That historic fact, Carrillo believes, helps explain why the Soviet Union is neither a capitalist nor yet a socialist state. The Soviet regime, undertaking to build socialism in one country, was compelled to serve as an instrument for the primitive accumulation of capital. For all the understanding and sacrifice of the most politically conscious of its peoples, a dictatorship was required to wring out the surplus needed to build heavy industry and military defense. In Stalin's hands, that dictatorship became deformed and cost the lives of thousands of sturdy Bolsheviks. The residual effects still separate Soviet working people from the management of their own society and obstruct the development of socialist democracy.

It is clearly not necessary to set up a dictatorship for the primitive accumulation of capital in countries where the accumulation of capital has already taken place. And it is politically illogical to expect that a dictatorship of the proletariat would grow out of the grand convergence for democratic and socialist solutions that has been emerging in Spain.

It is important that this book be read.

Hugh Delacy was a Member of Congress (D-Wash.), 1945-47, and a leader of the 1948 Progressive party.



Correction

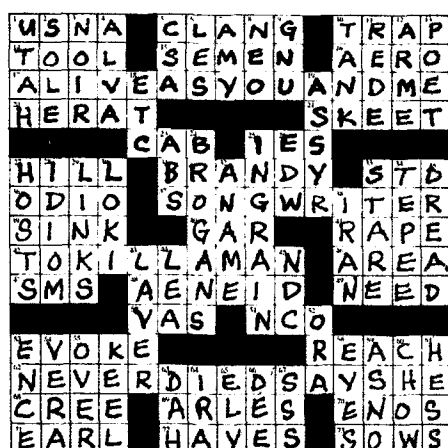
Several paragraphs in our Jan. 11 editorial, "Democratic Ideals and Socialist Realism," were garbled. After the last full paragraph of column two, the next three paragraphs should read:

- The diversity of the working class and the socialist movement signifies their historical development to the point of representing society as a whole, as against special capitalist interests, which are becoming smaller in number and less and less diverse in social composition.

- In championing democracy against the oligarchic power of corporate-capital the working class becomes, as all revolutionary classes must, the representative of the interest of the whole society in progress and human freedom.

- As a result of prolonged popular struggles, democracy in the industrial societies has come to be understood by the people as the indivisibility of liberty and equality in a society where the people, not the state or a party, are sovereign.

Solution to last week's puzzle:



IN CHICAGO

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome.

Tel. (312) 525-3667
11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days

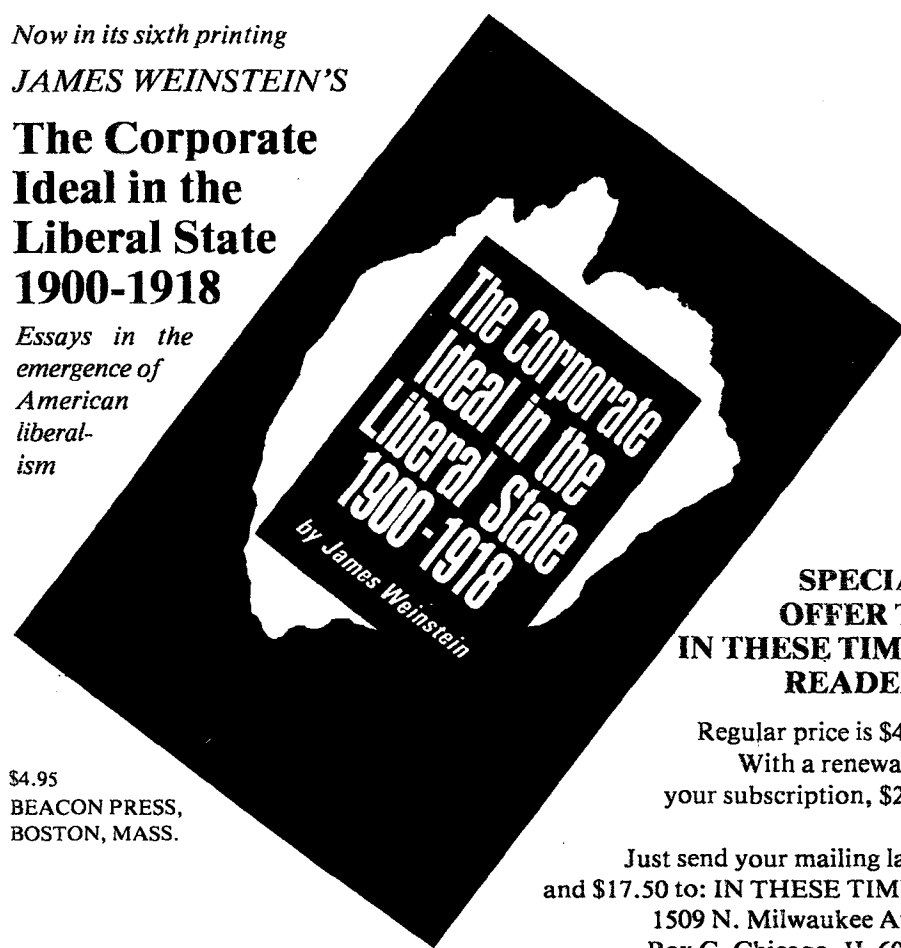
**Guild
Bookstore**
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

Now in its sixth printing
JAMES WEINSTEIN'S

The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State 1900-1918

Essays in the emergence of American liberalism

\$4.95
BEACON PRESS,
BOSTON, MASS.



**SPECIAL
OFFER TO
IN THESE TIMES
READERS**

Regular price is \$4.95
With a renewal of
your subscription, \$2.50

Just send your mailing label
and \$17.50 to: IN THESE TIMES,
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.,
Box C, Chicago, IL 60622

Or, for the book alone, send \$4.95.

Humphrey

Continued from page 3.

Lyndon Johnson and get the vice-presidency.

Johnson's man.

Virtually every account of this period in Humphrey's life indicates that Johnson recognized Humphrey's hunger for the White House, and used it to get Hubert to swear total and eternal loyalty. Humphrey agreed.

At first it looked like Humphrey's strategy of entering the White House after serving an "apprenticeship" with LBJ was going to work. They had worked closely together in the Senate, and Humphrey knew Johnson to be a southern version of himself (a post New Deal New

Dealer).

But Humphrey didn't recognize another similarity between Johnson and himself: the belief in *Pax Americana*. Given his political background, it wasn't surprising that Humphrey breathed fire at the very mention of "the Communist threat to the Free World." Even so, it took frequent reminders from Johnson of his oft-repeated pledges of unswerving loyalty to keep Hubert out front for the Johnson administration, this time fulfilling his image as "the Happy Warrior" pumping for LBJ's Vietnam policy.

Thus, Humphrey, who had spent decades heading for the presidency, found that by the time he won the nomination in 1968, his actions had discredited him.

After a brief stint teaching in Minnesota, Humphrey again ran for the Senate in 1970. "Returning in 1971 like a freshman senator, I spent a year trying to find a proper role," he wrote. Evidently, Hum-

phrey didn't really accommodate himself to his old Senate haunts, because he entered the Democratic presidential primaries the next year, but lost in a bloody primary battle that rivaled the '48 DFL convention for acrimony.

He then reconciled himself to working within the Senate, and within a few years produced his last major piece of social welfare legislation: The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976. Although the Humphrey-Hawkins bill today languishes in a congressional committee, it was a significant issue in the '76 presidential campaign.

But old habits die hard, and when the 1976 Democratic presidential primaries rolled around, Humphrey was tempted but he never fully committed himself. Instead, he waited for Carter to falter. By the time he realized that Jimmy wasn't about to go under, it was too late.

The month before the election, Hum-

phrey's bladder was found to be cancerous and was removed. In August 1977, doctors discovered a massive pelvic tumor, and he died five months later.

In many ways Humphrey's career personified the transformation of American politics since World War II. After initially concentrating on domestic affairs (completing the New Deal), Humphrey was distracted from his social welfare legislative work by the start of the Cold War. From then on, a pattern emerged: work on welfare programs, interrupted occasionally by foreign affairs. After basically adopting the right's line in foreign policy (as in Korea), Humphrey returned to his reheated New Deal programs—never suspecting that one day those occasional forays into the defense of "the Free World" would lead to his political downfall in the swamps of Vietnam.

Kenrick G. Kissell is the state secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin.

GRAPHICS WORKERS Liberation News Service needs you!

LNS is an independent leftist news service now in its eleventh year. We are a working collective which produces weekly packets of news and graphics and a monthly graphics service. Our subscribers include several hundred newspapers, radio stations and organizations throughout the U.S. and abroad.



WOMEN AND THIRD WORLD PEOPLE ARE ESPECIALLY ENCOURAGED TO APPLY.

It's full time work for subsistence pay with a high level of responsibility and political involvement.

GRAPHICS WORK includes general photographic and darkroom work, design and layout, technical reproduction, selecting graphics, working with contributing artists and general collective responsibilities.

Some experience in one or more of these areas is necessary, but we are willing to train.

There are also openings for people with writing, editorial, printing and typesetting skills.

For more information, write or call:

**Liberation News Service
17 West 17th Street
N.Y., N.Y. 10011
(212) 989-3555**

ITT is more precious

ITT is more Dear

(Our price is increasing.)

For all the reasons, our subscription price must increase. Following is a list of our new prices, effective 1 February 1978:

One Year:	\$17.50
Six months:	9.85
Four months:	7.75
Student (1 year)	11.50
Retired:	9.25

But even though we can't escape all the effects of inflation, we are offering our current subscribers a few weeks of grace and a chance to

SUBSCRIBE AT THE old price

before March 1, 1978. Until that date, no matter when your subscription is due to expire, you can renew for one year at the old price of \$15.00 (students, \$10.00, retired \$7.50).



An offer I can't refuse

Please inflation-proof my sub for a full year.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

Enclosed is \$15.00 and my mailing label.



New West German fashions

Germany

Continued from page 9.

nouvin, wrote just after the Stammheim prison deaths that repudiation of the "demented strategy" of the Baader group was "no reason to spit on the bodies of the terrorists." Renouvin found the victory cries of the German crowd "obscene," for "one must be without honor to trample on the vanquished, without dignity to insult the corpses of those lost children."

The West German opposition to the war in Vietnam differed from anti-war movements in other countries in one very significant respect: it was haunted by the threat of *genocide* hanging over the Vietnamese people. Ulrike Meinhof seems to have been one of those Germans who were anguished at the thought of their country being accomplice of yet another *genocide*. Remembering the "good Germans" who were innocently "unaware" of the last genocide, is it so amazing that a few young people decided this time to be "bad Germans" and do something to stop it? The main operations of the Baader-Meinhof hard core in 1972, before their arrest that same year, were directed against American military bases believed to be directly involved in logistics support to the bombing of Vietnam.

There are indications that Baader himself, who had been locked up for five years at the time of the Schleyer kidnapping and Mogadishu hijacking, disapproved of those actions. A Chancellery official who spent 70 minutes talking with Andreas Baader in his cell on Oct. 17, the eve of his death, reported that Baader told him "he had never approved of and would never approve of terrorism in its current form of brutal actions against uninvolved civilians."

Baader warned that the "second and third generation of the RAF" would become still more brutal, and suggested that if he were freed, it still might not be too late for his "ideological influence on the current generation of terrorists" to get them off that wrong course. Both he and Gudrun Ensslin promised, if released in exchange for the hostages, not to return to West Germany and to give up all military operations.

The only chance.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who has been living in Frankfurt since he was expelled from France for his role as exuberant symbol of the May '68 student uprising, told the French weekly *Politique-Hebdo* that his first reactions to the Stammheim deaths was that "we are going to see the birth of a new generation of guerilla fighters in Germany."

Cohn-Bendit said that the "German left and far left are doomed to have to learn to live caught between the State and a guerilla war which is not about to disappear because it is a product of German society itself."

How so? "Look what happened at Kalkar: 70,000 to 100,000 people demonstrated against nuclear power plants there. And the police, fabulously omnipresent, frisked 50,000. It's obvious to me that among those 50,000 humiliated people there are 100 who figure the only answer to a State that acts like that is armed struggle here and now."

Cohn-Bendit, who now lives in a commune and puts out an anarchist paper, concluded: "My problem is to contribute to the development of an autonomous movement, an extra-parliamentary force able to make the temptation to armed struggle lose ground. That's our only chance."

He saw two movements with the potential to grow in West Germany to the left of the Social Democrats: his own lib-

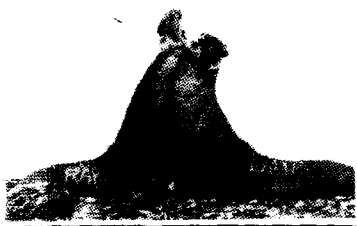


Daniel Cohn-Bendit

Bendit: the left must live "caught between the state and a guerilla war which is not about to disappear because it is a product of German society itself."

ertarian "autonomous" current, and a new "Eurocommunism" represented by expelled East German protest singer Wolf Biermann, who is currently drawing full houses in West Germany.

Such efforts to open up a new political space in West Germany itself at least deserve recognition at a time when dread of the opposite trend—a "Germanization" process closing off the spaces for free opposition—is growing in Italy and France.



LIFE IN THE U.S.

ENVIRONMENT

New danger for elephant seals

By Burney J. Le Boeuf

Pacific News Service

ANO NUEVO, CALIF.—While dozens of marine species teeter on the brink of extinction, the return of the northern elephant seal to the Mexico-California coastline is often cited as one of the great wildlife success stories.

Considered virtually extinct in 1890, these enormous sea mammals today number approximately 48,000 and are once again breeding on islands spread over a 1,000-mile range in the Pacific.

But despite their dramatic increase, it would be premature to conclude that elephant seals are safe and that the population is fit and viable. For though the elephant seal has recovered numerically, it

Hidden in the recovery of the elephant seals is the danger of genetic exhaustion.

has become genetically so impoverished that it may not be able to adapt to any drastic changes in its environment.

In fact, we must question whether any species—such as the elephant seal or the whale—that has been virtually annihilated either directly or indirectly by human activities can ever fully recover.

Because of their gargantuan size—an adult bull can weigh up to four tons and reach 16 feet in length—elephant seals began to be exploited for their oil in the first decade of the 19th century and this continued at a rapid pace for about 40 years.

Elephant seal oil was considered the best oil available with the exception of the sperm whale. Seal oil was used in house and street lighting, for lubricating machinery, in the tanning process and in making paint, soap and clothing. One adult bull was reported to have brought as much as 210 gallons of oil.

Because the elephant seal is not afraid of man, it was easy prey for sealers, who killed seals of both sexes and all ages indiscriminately. Slaughter was so intensive that by 1860 elephant seals were no longer considered an important source of oil.

By the 1890s, scientists estimate, there may have been as few as 20 animals in the entire population, and probably no more than 100. This minuscule population thus constitutes the forebears of today's entire species.

In 1922, a joint American-Mexican expedition to the Isla de Guadalupe reported finding 264 seals on the island. Judging that the population would again be exploited, the Mexican government granted the species immediate and complete protection. So protected, the colony began to flourish, and within a decade animals began to disperse to other places along the coast of Baja California.

When animals began to appear off the coast of southern California, the U.S. government followed the example of Mexico and granted the species protection. By 1957 researchers estimated a total population of 13,000 seals, and within the past 20 years that figure has more than tripled.

Recent data, however, strongly suggest that the extreme population reduction of the northern elephant seal in the 19th century has left the current population with little ability to adapt to its environment.

When blood samples were collected recently from 125 seals at five different rookeries, the analysis showed a startling result. In the laboratory the 125 seals looked like identical twins, or rather like siblings from the same fertilized egg.

All the blood samples had the same genetic structure. No polymorphisms (different genetic forms) were found in the entire elephant seal sample. Polymorphisms are important indicators of how well a population can adapt to environmental changes; generally speaking, the fewer polymorphisms the less adaptability.



By the 1890s there may have been as few as 20 elephant seals in existence; today there are upwards of 48,000. But despite their numbers, inbreeding and genetic weakness may pose hazards to their future existence.

This genetic weakening started last century, when, nearing extinction, the seals were able to breed only with closely related individuals. Severe inbreeding can lead to a condition called "inbreeding depression"—characterized by loss of fertility, growth anomalies and metabolic disturbances.

Another cause of inbreeding is that male elephant seals are extremely polygamous; a few males do most of the mating. For example, one male may inseminate all of the females in a harem of 100 or more and he may monopolize breeding in this way for four or more breeding seasons, while all or most of the other males in the colony fail to mate at all. Since females may breed at age two and give birth for the first time at age three, father-daughter matings begin to occur after a male has been dominant for four years in a row. If he dominates for seven consecutive years, father-grand-daughter matings would occur in the last year.

One possible effect of inbreeding and genetic weakening could be the inability of the elephant seal to adjust to drastic changes in its diet. It is believed that the seal feeds primarily on a single food such as squid. If the squid supply were suddenly depleted, the elephant seal population could collapse for lack of food because it may not have the genetic capability to switch to other food supplies.

The broader implications of this story are obvious. Other species whose num-

bers have been severely reduced—such as the sea otter, the gray whale, the California condor, the fur seal, and a number of terrestrial species—may also have suffered a similar reduction in genetic variability as they have tried to make a comeback.

Meanwhile, the greatest threat to the elephant seal's future—and in fact its only true natural enemy—is people. As breeding colonies enlarge, the seal faces potential conflicts with humans over space.

In 1972 seals began breeding on the Southeast Farallon Island near San Francisco—a location used for 24 years for dumping chemical and radioactive wastes. So far scientists do not know what effect possible radioactive leakage will have on newborn elephant seal pups there.

Elephant seals did survive the infamous 1969 oil spill in the Santa Barbara Channel. Remarkably, those seals covered with crude oil during the spill actually had a higher survival rate than those which remained clean, though no one knows why.

Burney Le Boeuf, professor of biology at the University of California in Santa Cruz, has written over 50 articles on elephant seal behavior. For the past ten years, he has conducted special university research projects at elephant seal colonies in California, Mexico and Argentina. A longer version of this article appeared in Pacific Discovery.

GOLD RUSH '78

Continued from page 24.

ing Association and a retired bio-medical engineer. "I claimed \$4,000 in gold on my income tax, but I had to make seven court appearances. They want me out of here so they can lease the land to large corporations."

Ralph Modine, the former president of the Western Mining Council and a member of the Trinity County Board of Supervisors, agrees with Arbo. He points to legislation now in Congress that would change the mining laws of 1872 to allow the Forest Service to lease out large parcels of our national forests for exploration, development and production. This would provide the government with a new source of revenue, Modine says, and the corporations with new sources of income.

"They've destroyed my concept of free enterprise capitalism," Modine says. "They want to get all the little people out so they can move in the large corporations under the leasing system."

Bob Cates, an assistant Forest Service supervisor, says Modine's charges are "totally false." "I know of no arrangement with any large business or mining interest," he said. "No large corporation has come to us and said there's a valuable mineral area they'd like to develop."

"The Wilderness Act (a bill under con-

sideration) calls for all mining in wilderness areas to cease by something like 1984. If Congress passed it, there could be no development in this area even if there were minerals present."

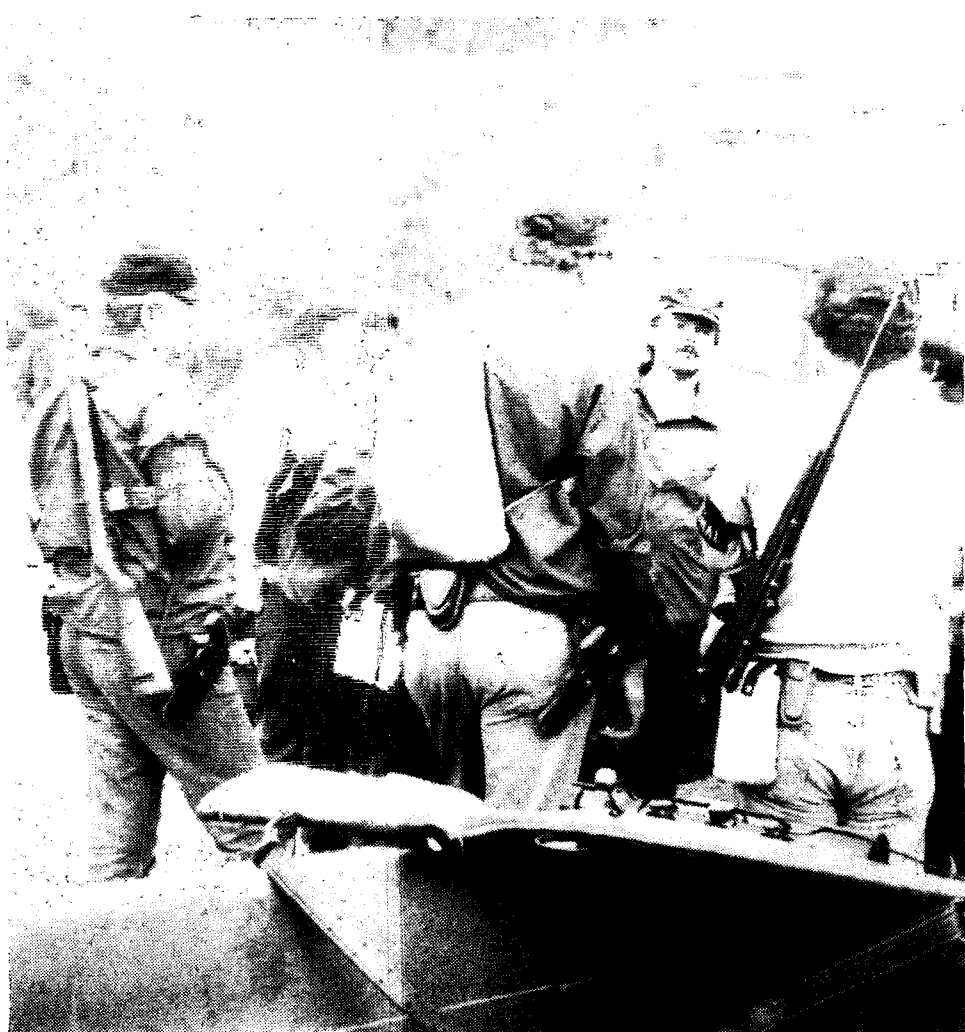
So far the government has been able to conduct only a small fraction of the mineral exams, but tensions are still running high in the forest. Supervisor Modine contends any attempt to physically remove the people near Denny could lead to a significant number of deaths. Ranger Wright is inclined to agree with him. "I've heard from several different sources that if we remove people, we'll have a war on our hands," he admitted.

"The situation is on the edge of violence right now," says miner Brian Hill. "We've done all the legal things, but they keep pushing us harder and harder."

"Personally, I've existed on what I've gotten out of the creek for a year and a half. But if people from the cities come up here to live, so what? That's what the gold rush was all about."

"That's what founded California, and that's where a lot of people's ancestors came from. Every depression brings people out of the cities and back to the land, and here we are."

Donald Monkerud is a former forester in Northern California.



Federal marshalls prepare to move into the wilderness area where the miners live.

SPORTS

Defense key in Superbowl

by Mark Naison

Super Bowl XII, unlike many of its predecessors, was a pretty good football game.

Though Dallas took an early lead, they had trouble taking advantage of most of their scoring opportunities, and Denver seemed in it till midway in the last quarter.

The defensive play, on both sides, was nothing short of spectacular. The Dallas front four, particularly Ed Jones, Harvey Martin and Randy White, put on the best pass rush I've seen in a Super Bowl since the Steelers were in their prime. Craig Morton had no time to set up and pick out secondary receivers, and responded to the pressure by throwing four interceptions.

The Denver defense was almost as impressive. They stopped the Cowboys four or five times inside their own 30 and sacked Roger Staubach four times in the first half. Lyle Alzado and Ruben Carter, Denver's two best linemen, were all over the field, making spectacular tackles after they seemingly had been blocked out of the play.

Few games have provided a better display of the speed, strength and agility of defensive linemen. Players like Jones, Martin, White and Alzado, all upwards of 245 pounds, were leaping over blockers, running 25 yards to make tackles, and catching running backs from behind.

With both defenses setting the tempo of the game, the advantage inevitably flowed to Dallas. Cowboy quarterback Roger Staubach, much quicker than his Denver counterpart, was able to move out of the pocket when his protection broke down, giving him time to find open receivers or to throw the ball away. Although he was under constant pressure, Staubach pursued his game plan (provided from the sidelines by coach Tom Landry) without panicking, never trying to force his passes to receivers who were covered. As a result, Dallas was able to avoid the turnovers that crippled the Denver offensive and to convert some of their

opportunities into scores.

Both teams played with a great deal of emotion. The hitting was brutal throughout, although there were very few (visible) cheap shots or efforts to injure an opposing player. Linemen sacked the quarterbacks emphatically, but without trying to twist their knees or bang their heads against the artificial turf. Nonetheless, a steady stream of players left the field with injuries: Gradishar, ankle; Wright, shoulder; Dorsett, knee; Staubach, finger (broken); Grant, knee. It makes you wonder, is it all worth it?

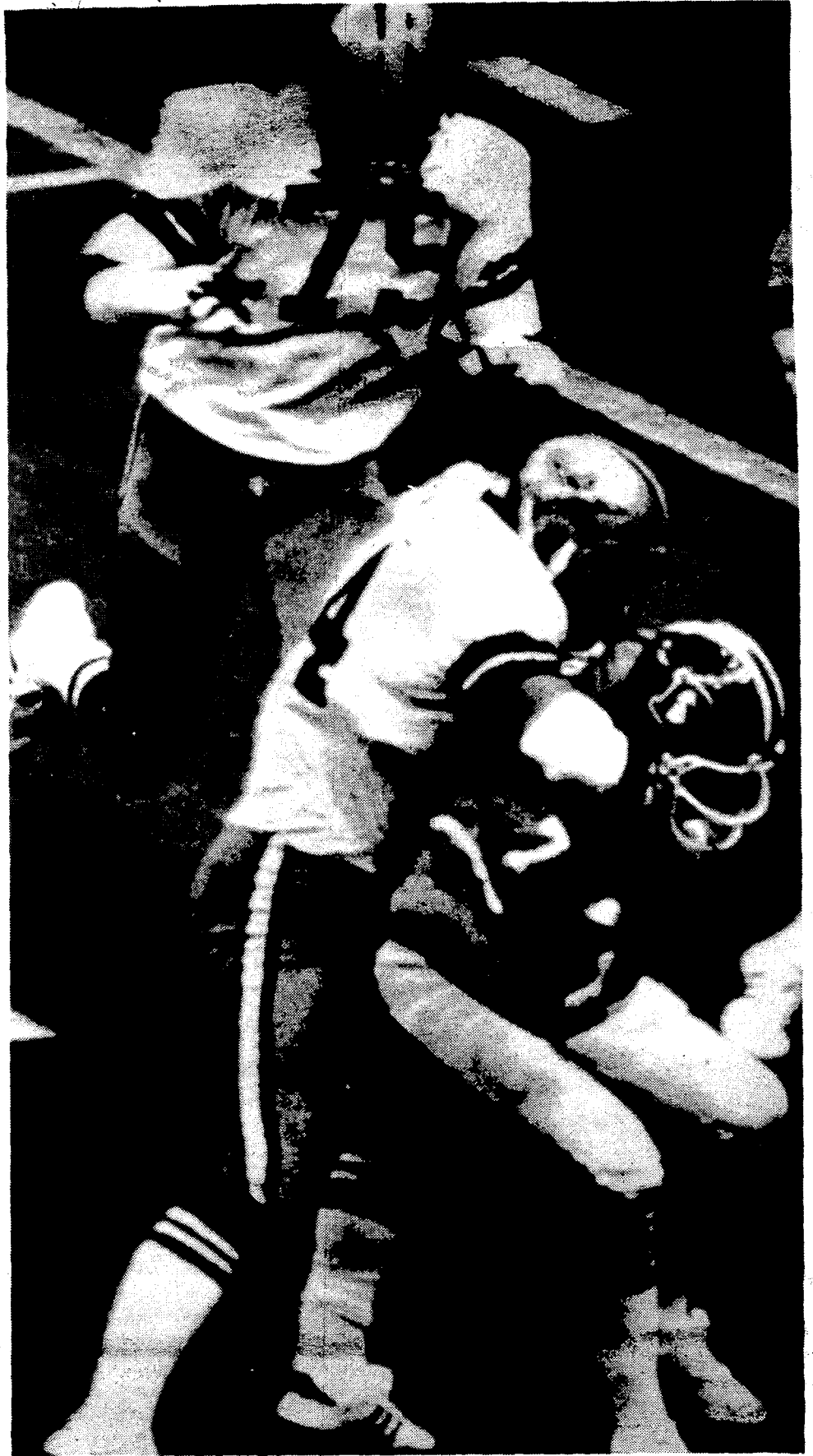
The spectacle surrounding the game was a parody of American consumerism. Although the Denver fans provided a note of innocent enthusiasm to the proceedings, the two-week binge of advertising, carousing and media self-promotion that preceded the game escaped being decadent only because it was so silly.

The TV coverage was an embarrassment. At least one quarter of the non-commercial time was devoted to pictures and descriptions of the physical assets of the Dallas and Denver "cheerleaders," which Tom Brookshire and Pat Summerall conducted with all the grace and aplomb of two 12-year-olds seeing their first copy of *Playboy*.

A typical dialogue: Summerall: "They're all nine-nines" (referring to a football players' rating system for women popularized in Dan Jenkins' *Semi-Tough*). Brookshire: "She's a 10!" Summerall: "I thought there weren't any 10s."

The costumes—and physical assets—of the "Dallas Cowgirls" invite this kind of commentary. Most cheerleaders are selected for their dancing and acrobatic skill as well as their physical appearance. The Cowgirls are chosen solely on the basis of seductive faces and voluptuous figures. Maybe they can dance and twirl and do cartwheels, but all we got to see was close-ups of their chests.

The way they were packaged makes a mockery of an honorable activity and provides another sad example of how "sex" is used to sell everything in sight.



Denver quarterback Craig Morton had not time to set up and pick out secondary receivers because of Dallas' impressive rush. UPI

Youngstown

Continued from page 5.

ance of a community board," Alperovitz says.

Raising the money.

Even tougher than concocting a workable plan is raising the money—estimated by Beetle at \$120 million—to get the mill rolling again and \$535 million by 1985 to make it profitable. Dick Fernandez, a former anti-war activist hired by the Ecumenical Council as a community organizer, will soon be tapping church, union and other networks to encourage people to open a "Save Youngstown Account" in their local bank.

Committing this "earnest money" will not bind anyone to buy stock later, but it will demonstrate to the federal government serious community interest among local businessmen as well as steelworkers, many of whom have sizeable personal savings out of incomes at times surpassing \$20,000 a year.

The campaign, possibly through an Interfaith Committee to Save Youngstown and Urban America soon to be convened by a subcommittee of the U.S. Catholic Conference, will also ask national religious bodies, universities and other institutions with fat stock portfolios to pledge some portion of their assets to buy the Campbell Works.

Organizers hope that groups will organize teach-ins around the country about Youngstown to discuss the issues of runaway shops, decline of older cities, the lack of a positive federal urban policy and worker-community ownership and control.

With a show of strong support in dollars

and organization from the community, proponents hope to win grants or loans from HUD, Community Services Administration or, most important, the Economic Development Administration, which has the authority to guarantee \$1 billion in loans. Already some steel companies have received such guarantees, as recommended by the Treasury department's Steel Task Force. With the Youngstown plan the money could be used to save steel communities and not just steel companies, the major thrust of the Carter administration policies so far.

Perhaps even more important, Alperovitz and others want the federal government to promise to purchase steel from the worker-community mill for public needs, such as mass transit. That would give stability to the rejuvenated mill, which could also take advantage of both new efficient, energy-conserving technology and the typical jump in productivity that comes with worker control.

Yet some observers fear that worker control will be diluted if rank and file steelworkers are not brought into the planning more in the early stages. Now, for example, Gerald Dickey, the early prophet of worker-community ownership, describes himself as "on the sidelines," partly pushed there by hostility from director Lesegianich.

Opposing merger.

Dickey's Local 1462 opened an important new front on Jan. 23, however, when it testified before the Justice department Antitrust Division on the proposed merger between Lykes Corp. and the LTV

Corp., conglomerate owner of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.

If that merger is approved, as is likely, there is a good chance that the Brier Hill plant will be shut down in favor of a more efficient Jones & Laughlin plant at Aliquippa, Pa., which makes the same profitable seamless pipe as Brier Hill. Consequently, Brier Hill unionists claim a stake in the anti-trust decision.

Local 1462 wants either job guarantees for the next ten years or incorporation of its mill in the proposed community-worker owned factory, a move that would greatly increase the project's chances for success since the closed plant is the least profitable part. Justice department officials are sympathetic to the community-worker steel mill as a means of increasing industry competition, according to an informed source.

In making their demands on Lykes, steelworkers will appeal to precedents in other antitrust cases. They will argue that Lykes used Youngstown Sheet and Tube as a "cashbox," raiding it for other conglomerate ventures. Consequently Lykes is not fit to manage and should turn the mills over to the community for free or at a low price, they argue.

They could also press for access to the engineering plans for remodeling already drawn up, guaranteed access to raw materials under Lykes' control in years to come, or even investment by Lykes in the community-worker venture.

Corporate irresponsibility.

A study by the Ohio Public Interest Campaign documents their charge of Lykes' corporate irresponsibility. It shows how (1) the managerial rating of Youngstown Sheet and Tube plummeted after the 1969 takeover, (2) how Lykes failed to modernize its steel mills during the early 1970s

even though it had cash to invest that was poured into acquisitions of other companies, (3) how Lykes greatly overextended its debt in the speculative climate of the late 1960s in order to acquire Youngstown Sheet and Tube and thus was unable to borrow heavily in order to modernize, and (4) how Lykes was therefore unable to take advantage of the steel boom in 1973-74.

All this mismanagement, the OPIC report concludes, made Youngstown Sheet and Tube more vulnerable to the steel slump of recent years: a "healthy company" suffered as it became part of a "sick conglomerate" that could easily shuck any responsibility to the people of Youngstown.

A worker-community owned plant, of course, will still operate within a capitalist market. It will be subject to the inevitable business cycle booms and busts. It will be subject to prevailing demands for profitability, although that could be slightly modified because of the additional self-interest many of the investors would have in keeping the mill open and because of any lower interest rates the new firm might pay as a result of using municipal bonding or federal loan guarantees.

It won't be "socialism in one factory," even though worker control and community accountability are desirable, democratic, proto-socialist goals. The people of Youngstown, however, don't have the luxury of contemplating caveats about limitations of an island of worker-community control in a capitalist sea or of playing an urban Godot waiting for socialism.

"Damn it, you've got to find some kind of answer," says Staughton Lynd, attorney for the Ecumenical Coalition, "and this is the only thing that anyone has come up with."

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records



HEROES

David Bowie
(RCA)

The Thin White Duke continues his collaboration with Brian Eno on this album, an extension of its predecessor, *Low*.

Bowie is releasing music that is heavily electronic and, at least on Side Two, meditative. It is music in the tradition of the tone poem, a genre popularized in the late 19th century and early 20th, by Russian Alexander Scriabin and Frenchman, Claude Debussy.

In the instrumental works that dominate most of Side Two (exception: "The Secret Life of Arabia"), the mood is entrancing. "Moss Garden" makes you feel as if you're in a clearing in a sculptured forest, with Eno's synthesizer constantly intertwined with Bowie's subliminal sax. The effect is lovely and vaguely disturbing.

Side One is hard, electric, a rock of texture and internal dynamics. The title tune is Bowie's pitch for love, a massive and complex screamer that says he and his love should unite in passion and death. Its complement is "Beauty and the Beast," sort of a bitter inversion of the Wizard of Oz fantasy.

Bowie has always been possessed by demons; that may be the reason his most powerful music is that which lets the demons speak (all of "Aladdin Sane," parts of "Hunky Dory"). Here the demons show their faces in a provocative electric garden.

A cerebral album, *Heroes* is ultimately cold. But Bowie has such talent and daring that his visions make up for the coldness.

RECKLESS ABANDON

The David Bromberg Band
(Fantasy)

David Bromberg is one of those rare artists who can pull off a winning album employing a half-dozen or more musical styles. On *Reckless Abandon*, he and his band whip into bluegrass, rock, funk, Dixieland, Irish folk, and Delta blues.

Bromberg himself has never succumbed to trends. He and his fellows have a healthy respect for the many splendors of musical expression. He is a constant source of music for the open-minded.

As a solo artist, Bromberg showed a real command of stringed instruments. What places his current output on an even higher plane are the abilities of other band members. If Bromberg can casually pick and slide his heart out on a guitar, dobro, and mandolin, Dick Fegy can keep pace on fiddle and banjo in addition to guitar and mandolin. George Kindler contributes on all of the above—plus woodwinds. Curt Linberg and John Firmin round out the band membership on horns and winds, respectively. They are joined by various session artists, who add depth to a band that hardly needs assistance.

This assembly shows they are ready to take on almost anything, so it is only mildly surprising to hear a Dick Fegy banjo solo being accompanied by Steve Forman's maracas during a particularly incendiary, instrumental bluegrass medley, featuring the classics "Sally Goodin," "Old Joe Clark," and Bill Monroe's "Wheel Hoss." While Bromberg gets the credit for arranging that medley, *Reckless Abandon* more commonly features team arrangements with Jim Price. Bromberg compositions are few on this LP; he is apparently content to play good music from wherever he can find it.

It's still David singing leads, of course, and *Reckless Abandon* has him hamming it up every now and then as he is wont to do. "Mrs. Delion's Lament" continues the adventures of the venerable Staggerlee, still lurking out there, blade in hand, waiting for someone or something to rub him the wrong way.

In "Beware, Brother, Beware," Bromberg sermonizes on husband-hunting women and how to deal with them. With tongue firmly in cheek, he presents his advice in what sounds like a for-men-only tent revival, complete with get-down funky stage band:

*If you go out to the show
and she wants you to sit in the
back row,
Bring her down front;
If her mom acts real sweet
and her father's actin' discreet,
Hit the street!*

It's all well and good until his own mate breaks the spirit of the gathering by pulling him offstage by his ear.

Tunes sung on the lower end of Bromberg's range offer the best vocal quality and the least strain on his sinuses. "Child's Song" and "Baby Breeze" are outstanding blends of soothing vocals and string accompaniment.

Bromberg's low commercial profile will probably keep a lot of people from hearing *Reckless Abandon*. Those who follow him closely, on the other hand, still have much to be grateful for.

—Bob Datz

Bob Datz is a free-lance writer in Cleveland.

STREET SURVIVORS

Lynyrd Skynyrd
(MCA)

What is certainly the last album from this Georgia band is fine rock'n'roll and is, in at least three instances, moving: the macabre "That Smell," a Puritan meditation on death; "One More Time"; and "I Never Dreamed," a love song marked by sanctified arrangement and refreshingly free from corn.

The two main forces behind Lynyrd Skynyrd—guitarist/singers Ronnie Van Zant and Steve Gaines—and Gaines' sister Cassie and roadie Dean Kilpatrick died in a plane crash toward the end of October, just about the time this album was released.

The band's production company says it will probably re-release the album with a different cover. This one shows the group standing in a neighborhood of flames.

It's southern music: lots of stinging guitar, a dominant boogie shuffle rhythm, gospel-like vocal backing by the Honkettes, ornate rockabilly piano by Billy Powell, and an efficient rhythm section: Leon Wilkeson, bass and Artimus Pyle, drums.

"That Smell" is bitter—anti-drug, anti-alcohol, pro-life in its anger and conviction. The imagery may border on the trite, but the power comes through. "One More Time," a dirge-like song of love and deceit, is resigned, sad, deeply felt; and "I Never Dreamed" (of imminent loss), features an effective guitar line that whines but isn't maudlin.

Gaines' "I Know a Little" and the rocking "Honky Tonk Night-time Man" (by Merle Haggard) round out the album, tipping the LS hat to the worlds of work and partying.

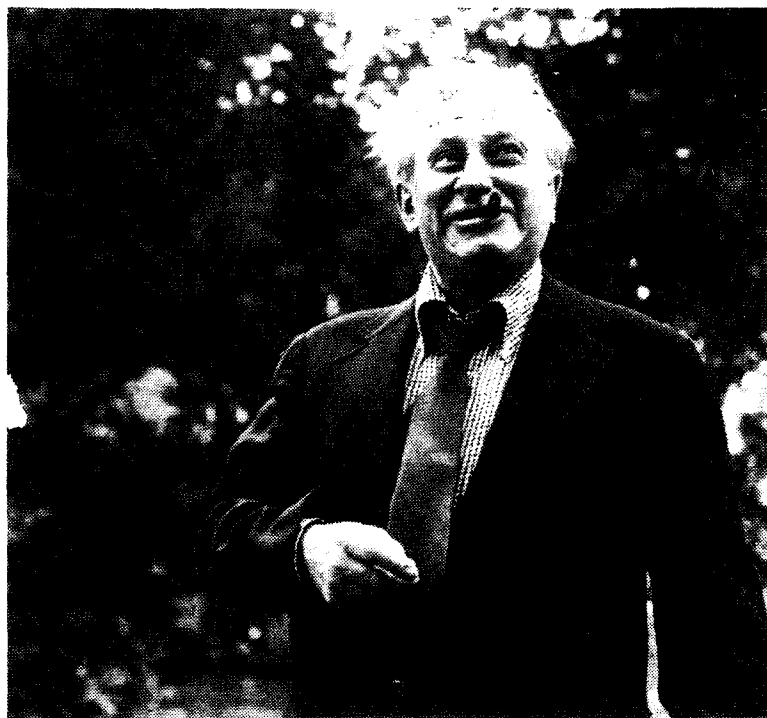
The album is moving on several levels: for its well-programmed and well-played music, for the power of its feeling, and for the loss it signifies. Although it may be southern-based, the music it contains speaks to all. Lynyrd Skynyrd aren't earth-shakers; they're workers, and their joy in work and play comes across here loud and clear. —Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff edits the *Vermont Vanguard* and reviews records regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension &
Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE
Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005
516-466-4642



I look forward to reading *In These Times* each week—it has articles and insights I can find nowhere else. Even though there are many new publications, I get a special kick out of this one.

—Studs Terkel

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Diana Johnstone on the European response to Jimmy Carter's threats against Eurocommunism; a report from Italy; John Judis on Carter's first year; David Moberg on

AFSCME's attempt to fight "contracting out"; a look at the differences in intercollegiate sports at Duke and the University of Chicago; a report on the IRS harassment of black leaders.

Send *In These Times* for 4 trial months. Here's \$6.50.

Send me 50 bargain weeks of *In These Times*. Here's \$15.00.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

Send *In These Times* for 4 trial months. Here's \$6.50.

Send me 50 bargain weeks of *In These Times*. Here's \$15.00.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

FILM

Black films come of age

A HERO AIN'T NOTHIN' BUT A SANDWICH

Directed by Ralph Nelson
Screenplay by Alice Childress
Starring Paul Winfield, Cicely Tyson and Larry B. Scott
Produced by Robert Radnitz

A Hero Ain't Nothin' But a Sandwich confronts and struggles for a solution to the most painful problems—personal and interpersonal—in the lives of America's urban blacks. It doesn't find a solution. But it does make the problems deeply and richly real. It ought to be seen by everyone, those who are "part of the problem" as well as those who are "part of the solution."

It's an uneven film, but never an ineffective one.

The screenplay shows the hand of a fine novelist, who is not yet a skilled screen writer. (The number of times someone asks the 13-year-old Benji, "What are you thinking?" is evidence of the difficulty a novelist has in translating the inner monologues of fiction into dramatic dialogue.) Childress also has a hard time bringing the story to a satisfactory end. There are as many false codas as

in a Beethoven symphony. And when the last proves to be just that, one is left wondering precisely what is implied.

The acting is marvelous. Paul Winfield and Cicely Tyson give performances that merit nominations for Oscars, and so does young Larry Scott (Benji). But it's not only the stars that make each scene shine with truth. The other young actors are as good as Scott when the script gives them an equal chance. And the entire roster of adult performers is an honor roll of acting artistry. (Even the two white roles—the teacher and the case worker—are handled better by the actors than by the playwright.)

The ensemble is completely convincing.

There is hardly a moment when what is happening on the screen does not totally engage the viewer. Afterwards, there are second thoughts about some of the drama's implications.

For instance, although Childress is obviously fighting the menace of drug addiction among black young people, there is a question of how effective her presentation of the hooking of Benji

would be to members of his peer group. There is perhaps too much glamour to the scene and the people and even to his experiencing of the "high." Studies done among students who have listened to lectures on the dangers of drugs by ex-addicts and other "experts" have revealed that in many cases the listeners are unimpressed by their admonitions. Ghetto dwellers turn to drugs because life offers no better alternative. They know life will be short and hope only that they can live it with some pleasure and with style.

The attitudes of the black and the white teacher is another area where the script leaves one unclear about the "lesson" to be drawn. The tension between black men and women in an emasculating society is another. One can imagine a whole series of rap sessions organized around a screening of *Hero*.

But what matters most is that it is an honest, gripping, loving but harshly critical dramatic presentation of where it's at in America's cities, and a high water mark of black filmmaking to date.

—Janet Stevenson

Struggling for a solution to the most painful personal and interpersonal problems of urban blacks, A Hero Ain't Nothin' But a Sandwich is uneven but never ineffective.



Clint Eastwood, a loser with 70-1 odds against him.

Loser Eastwood is a winner

GAUNTLET

Directed by Clint Eastwood

Gauntlet is a balanced movie: a little romance, a little Rocky, and large doses of sex, violence, and humor. Clint Eastwood directed and stars. He is always competent, sometimes excellent, at both.

The movie is about a loser of a cop, sent to Las Vegas to bring back a nothing witness for a trial. The witness turns out to be a young hooker. When the cop gets to Las Vegas, he discovers that bookmakers are betting 70 to 1 that she never makes it to Phoenix.

Gauntlet is an atypical Eastwood movie in that he is not the man of action, but the man acted on. Eastwood's character, Shockly, becomes a persevering man, who must be tested by the perverted pretenders to manhood—an aging, disillusioned man who must ultimately face the me-

While there is an abundance of violence in Gauntlet, there is also a little extra that makes it a better movie than might have been expected.

thodical, unemotional violence of his peers.

Eastwood's direction has some visual problems, and the timing is off, but *Gauntlet* is a movie made with care and sincerity.

Eastwood has a feeling for the ritual aspects of our lives. His ability to recreate ritual on screen gives the movie depth. This is not to say that he has abandoned the formula that made him famous; there is a hardnose approach and an abundance of violence, but there is also a little extra that makes *Gauntlet* a better movie than might have been expected.

Sondra Locke does a good job as the hooker, and Eastwood is Eastwood. They work well together because their relationship is never rushed. They are both last resorts, people who have nowhere else to turn.

Gauntlet is a good effort by a director who is going to get better.

—Ken Slavin



CLASSIFIED

THE LAST RESORT is a film about the battle of Seabrook and the international nuclear controversy. Green Mountain Post Films is dedicated to reporting on atomic and energy issues which the Networks will not cover. For more information on THE LAST RESORT, LOVEJOY'S NUCLEAR WAR, MORE NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS, NUCLEAR REACTION IN WYHL, SENTENCED TO SUCCESS, and BETTER ACTIVE TODAY THAN RADIOACTIVE TOMORROW please call or write: Green Mountain Post Films, Box 177, Montague, Mass. 01351, (413)863-4754.

WHAT'S YOUR LINE GRAPHICS is the 4-woman TYPESETTING COLLECTIVE of the San Francisco Printing Cooperative. We exist to provide the progressive community and political movement with good quality, affordable typesetting for everything from books to letterheads. Call or write for an estimate and brochure: 964 Valencia, S.F., CA 94110, (415)647-8053. (Commercial rates 45% higher.)

POSITIONS IN NON-COMMERCIAL social change radio. Tampa, FL. Affiliated with ACORN. Contact Joe Fox, 523 W. 15th, Little Rock, AR 72202.

WOMEN'S LABOR AND OTHER POLITICAL RECORDS, including latest releases, available by mail, 25¢ for catalog. BREAD & ROSES, 1724 20th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009. Stop by next time you're in DC and check out our wide selection of progressive periodicals—and our records, of course!

RADICAL TEACHER, a quarterly newsjournal of socialist theory & practice, publishes articles on working-class culture, academic unemployment, racism, Marxist teaching, feminist studies, literacy and related issues. Subscriptions cost \$7.00 (\$3.00 for the part-time and unemployed). Or sample a back issue free. RADICAL TEACHER, P.O. Box 102, Cambridge MA 02142.

AREAS OF CONCERN - newsletter for concerned citizens. Free sample (mention In These Times): AOC, Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010.

TYPESETTING: IN THESE TIMES is now setting jobs at very reasonable rates. IN THESE TIMES typesetters and others on hand. Will set large and small jobs. For style-sheet or estimate contact: In These Times, 489-4444. Ask for Ken.

IN THESE TIMES DISTRIBUTORS needed for the following cities: Boston, Detroit, Milwaukee, San Diego, Phoenix, Omaha, Little Rock, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Birmingham, Nashville, Miami, Memphis, Jacksonville, Tampa, Newark, Trenton, Hartford, New Haven, Providence, Columbus, Akron, Grand Rapids, and maybe your city. You should have spare time, a vehicle available, and a commitment to making IN THESE TIMES a success in your city. Contact Nick Rabkin, ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.

FOR RENT—4th floor of IN THESE TIMES office building. Ideal for studio or offices. 7 rooms. \$200 includes utilities. 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago. Call (312) 489-4444, 9 am-5 pm.

Meeting on EUROCOMMUNISM - LATEST DEVELOPMENTS. Sponsored by DSOC-Chicago. Monday, Feb. 6, 8 pm, St. Paul's Church, 655 W. Fullerton.

IN THESE TIMES needs a dependable adding machine. Can you donate one or sell us one cheap? Call ITT—(312) 489-4444.

PREGNANCY TESTING & PREGNANCY COUNSELING Monday evenings 7-9, Saturdays 10:30 am -12:30 pm. Emma Goldman Women's Center, 1628A W. Belmont Chicago. Bring first morning urine sample. For more information call 528-4310 or 493-5364.

STAFF COORDINATOR for military counseling agency. Administrative and fund-raising experience necessary. Familiarity with military law preferred. One-person staff situation requires self-motivation and confidence. Main responsibility: create self-sustaining network of volunteers. Minimum 6-month commitment; situation available immediately. Salary approx. \$550/month, flexible. Send resumes and references to Midwest Committee for Military Counseling, Rm. 317, 343 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60604, Attn: Len Cizewski.

"LIBERTE-EGALITE-SORORITE" T-shirts beige/brown lettering. Sil-screened circular design. XSL. \$5 check/money order. The After-Nooner, 5927B Drexel Rd., Phila., PA 19131.

CULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE #5. Blue Collar Music Today—Women in C&W, by M. Bufwack & B. Oermann; In Pursuit of Polka Happiness, by Angela & Charles Keil. Vaudeville in the Labor Movement, by C. Leinenweber. Drag Racing & Customizing, an interview. Moshe Nadir Speaks: document in Left humor. Underground Comix after 10 Years. Interviews with CRUMB, KINNEY, GREEN, GRIFFITH. 80 pp., illustrated, \$2. Sub: \$5/4 issues. c/o Dornwar Bookstore, 222 Thayer St., Providence, RI 02906. PS: Left humor, past & present? We print it.

THE LOVING BROTHERHOOD For men who care...for each other. Information for long SASE to TLB, Box 556IN, Sussex, N.J. 07461.

BOOKS, POSTERS ON SOCIAL change, personal growth, sexual politics. Free catalog: Times Change Press, Albion-3, CA 95410.

CLASSIFIED RATES:
\$.15 per word.
10% Prepaid Discount.

BOOKS

The other Marx: Working class leader

ELEANOR MARX

By Yvonne Kapp
Pantheon, 1977, 2 vols., \$27.95
in hard cover; \$11.90 in paper

Since Yvonne Kapp's biography of Eleanor Marx, youngest of Karl Marx's daughters, was published in London initially, British critics had first crack at it. The more perceptive described it as "one of the major biographies of our generation" and "positively hypnotic." It is a joy to concur in these judgments.

Kapp's research is meticulous. Her apprehension of the people and the times she writes about is informed with wisdom, humanity, artistic sensibility, and a

broad range of culture. Her style, seasoned with wry wit, is equal to the substance. The result is a happy union of utility and beauty.

This achievement is also facilitated, I suspect, by a circumstance that Eleanor Marx indicated: "I unfortunately only inherited my father's nose...and not his genius." That was humoristic license. Her patrimony encompassed more than a nose but still less than Marx's genius. She is a more manageable biographical subject.

In this drama she is the heroine, and the rank of all other characters, including Marx and Engels, is determined, in the first instance, by their relative importance in her life. This criterion renders Marx

and Engels less formidable, and we get more sharply focused insights into certain of their character traits than have been provided by their biographers.

The first volume of this two-volume work centers on the Marx family; on the successive domiciles, life style; bills, debts and constant financial crises; ailments; social, political and cultural interests; interpersonal relationships, joys and sorrows, the generous capacity for play and fun (which is expressed in, among other things, a penchant for nicknames).

Here Marx, the titan of revolution, is also the father of three marriageable daughters in Victorian Britain. He rebukes and instructs the suitor of Laura: "...true love expresses itself in the lover's...diffidence regarding the adored one, and certainly not in unconstrained passion and manifestations of premature familiarity." He forbids Eleanor to marry Lissagaray, "a dashing character and one of the [Paris] Commune's boldest fighters."

The mother, Jenny Westphalen Marx, worries: "They [the daughters] have been brought up with notions and views that form a complete barrier to the society in which they move, and at the same time they are not materially independent." For other radical parents who have faced this dilemma, association in a movement with families in similar circumstances helped to ameliorate the impact upon their children of the contradiction between the values in the home and the dominant values in the society at large. But the Marxes were a family in exile. During the daughters' formative years there was no socialist movement in Britain. They were not exposed to kindred British spirits of their own age. It is significant that the two older sisters married Frenchmen and settled in France and had Marx approved of Lissagaray, Eleanor would have followed suit.

The closeness of the Marx family may have been accentuated by the relative estrangement from the English environment. Only



Karl Marx and his three daughters with Friedrich Engels, 1864.



Eleanor Marx.

Y. Kapp

Eleanor's public life was busy and varied: trade union activist, propagandist for socialism as orator and writer, participant in socialist organizational efforts in Britain and internationally.

Eleanor, the sole English-born member of the Marx household to survive beyond infancy, was finally integrated into British society, albeit as a revolutionary opponent of the established order.

The second volume, much the larger of the two, centers on Eleanor's public life, although considerable attention is given to two personal relationships: with Edward Aveling as common-law husband and with Engels as surrogate father ("I have inherited from Marx," he wrote, "the obligation to stand by his children as he would have done himself"). Kapp's affectionate portrait of Engels is among the glories of her work.

The difficult and complex relationship with Aveling, which was climaxed and terminated by Eleanor's suicide at age 43, is treated by Kapp with extraordinary discretion. She had to discipline her distaste for the fellow and may have done it too well. But she manages to etch him credibly not just as the scoundrel he was reputed to be, but as a complicated and contradictory man.

Eleanor's public life was busy and varied: trade union activist, propagandist for socialism as orator and writer, participant in socialist organizational efforts on the British and international levels. Indeed, Kapp asserts that as the principal reporter for the British delegation to the Brussels Congress (1891) of the Socialist (Second) International she reached "the apogee of her public career."

Eleanor was an accomplished linguist. Her translation of *Madame Bovary*, for example, was the first to appear in England and has remained a staple of British publishing up to our own time. She learned Norwegian to translate Ibsen and learned Yiddish to communicate with Jewish immigrants in London's East End. She was a pioneer socialist writer and

lecturer in English on "the woman question." She wrote and lectured on poetry and drama.

Through her involvement in vital political, social and cultural currents of her time, Eleanor was introduced to a host of celebrated contemporaries in Britain and the international socialist arena. Kapp's presentation of that historical setting with its enormous cast of characters provides a fascinating introduction to the final decades of the Victorian era, illuminating phenomena as divergent as the initial British reaction to Ibsen and the explosive uprisings of unskilled workers in the "new unionism" of the late 1880s. Eleanor is in center stage most of the time and emerges as a figure of the stature necessary to bear the main weight of so prodigious a biography.

Eleanor's achievements in public life are the most impressive because, as Kapp notes, "during her time...the women who made any substantial impact upon any substantial section of the people could just about be counted on the fingers." Also, "Eleanor was not a woman who sought public attention... Had she desired it, she could have become one of the foremost figures in the annals of British socialism. But this implies an urge to be in the fore; and that she never had. She was not trying to make a name for herself."

Since she already had a name that was, in a sense, made for her, she was denied what Kapp suggests would have been her wish: "to be counted among the ranks of that great army of anonymous men and women who, over the generations, without recognition or reward, have given their volunteer service to end the exploitations of man by man and, in doing so, helped to make history." In this instance, by honoring a known soldier, the biography does honor to all those others.

—Al Richmond

600,000 Americans

CHILDREN IN JAIL

By Thomas J. Cottle
Beacon Press, Boston, 1977, \$9.95

You think you know about children in jail. They're mostly older teen-age boys, right? Wrong.

Some 600,000 Americans between the ages of 12 and 17 are serving prison sentences, and thousands more are being detained for trial. And they are not all boys.

Thomas Cottle's *Children in Jail* is sensational, and it's not fiction. He writes about the lives of four girls and four boys—not their crimes, their lives. When you have read their lives, you will understand their crimes.

The prisons and the systems that put them there are not helping or supporting our young people. They are alienating them, driving them into deeper pits of anguish than those our society

has consigned them to, destroying them.

In Cottle's book you will meet some incredible children. There is Bobbie, the tallest girl in her class, who learned to fight at an early age and ended up in jail for allegedly killing a man who raped her sister. After months in jail, awaiting trial, Bobbie was found dead in her cell from an overdose of sleeping pills.

Then there's Johnny, who was abandoned as an infant, placed in foster homes, hunted by his real father, who saw his foster father commit suicide. Johnny, at 14, is placed in a solitary confinement cell that is completely dark and empty except for a small hole in the floor. What is his crime? Stealing a car and bad-mouthing a guard.

The original purpose of Cottle's work was to gather information about conditions in children's jails. But one day a young boy

made a simple suggestion: "Why not ask me to talk about other things in my life instead of just my life in here? I haven't always been in jail, you know." So Cottle writes of their past lives and how their future is brutally stolen from them.

He does not dump eight tragic stories into your lap and say, "That's the way it is, folks." He includes an epilogue on what and should be done. He gives hard facts to be considered and acted upon by people working within the decrepit system of justice, and an impressive list of organizations across the country for those who want to explore the possibility of becoming a "child advocate."

Read *Children in Jail* and you'll think twice before you say "those damn punks" again.

—Karen Morrill

Karen Morrill teaches in an alternative school system in Chicago.

GOLD RUSH '78

by Donald Monkerud
Pacific News Service

DENNY, CALIF.—Up here, in the mountainous northern reaches of California, modern-day gold miners are on the brink of war with the U.S. Forest Service.

Gunshots ring out through the heavily wooded canyons each night, many of them directed towards the local Forest Service station. By day, government geologists and mining engineers, protected by heavily armed U.S. marshals, move through the pristine wilderness, checking mining claims.

"I never thought I'd have to lay my life on the line to defend my home," says miner Cole Hampton, tapping the Smith & Wesson .38 on his hip, "but they aren't going to come in here and drive me out."

Hampton's cabin, 22 miles down a narrow trail from the nearest road, stands on the banks of the New River. The river provides Hampton with his livelihood. It brings water to irrigate his garden, and water to wash the gold he digs from the riverbed.

It also happens to be within the boundaries of a magnificent national forest, and on the edge of the Trinity-Salmon Primitive Area. There are over 150 other cabins in the same general region.

Under the federal mining law of 1872 a citizen may establish a 20-acre mining claim on most parts of the 450 million acres of public land jointly administered by the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service.

But claims can be filed only after the "actual physical discovery" of valuable minerals, and, according to the law, if a person of "ordinary prudence" would be justified in expending his labor and means "in developing a valuable mine," with a reasonable prospect of success.

Hampton and other miners around Denny maintain they are operating well within the law. They note that gold has been mined in Trinity County since 1882, and that the U.S. Bureau of Mines estimates that 90 percent of it is still in the ground.

The Forest Service thinks otherwise. "It's finally obvious to us that people are illegally occupying national forest land," says district ranger Dave Wright. "They call themselves miners, but neither I nor the Forest Service feel they are miners. They're illegal occupiers."

Mineral exams.

In an effort to determine whether the people living along New River and its tributaries are legitimate miners the Forest Service began, several years ago, a series of "mineral examinations." The program, which some say was initiated only after a number of long-haired "hippie-types" moved to the area, met with instant hostility.

On one of the first "mineral exam" forays a government mining engineer was shot in the neck. More recently forest rangers have been forced off the road at gunpoint, the regional ranger station has been broken into and badly vandalized, and a government mule shot and killed.

The miners object to the mineral exams

because they are convinced that the Forest Service geologists and engineers couldn't find gold if it jumped out of the riverbed and into their hands. And if no gold is found on a miner's claim, he is called before an administrative judge and ejected from the land. The people in this area believe this is the Forest Service's ultimate objective.

To conduct a mineral exam government engineers take between 300 and 400 pounds of dirt from a claim. This dirt is supposed to represent a cross-section of the ground, from grassroots to bedrock. The sample is then washed out in a special machine to determine if any gold is present.

Miguel Nunes, whose claim was tested last September, claims the tests are a farce. "It takes a gold miner to find gold," he says defiantly. "I could mine for 20 days and get nothing, but the next day I'll get enough gold to make up for it. The proof is what I get out of the sluice box over the year." Nunes was recently photographed by a local newspaper, displaying a full pan of gold nuggets.

Trinity County District Attorney William Neil agrees with Nunes. "I don't think it's a valid test," he said. "The Forest Service doesn't really want to find any gold. In the test I watched, they took 90 percent of the sample off the top, instead of from the bedrock, which is where you find the gold. A prudent miner wouldn't even fool around with the stuff higher up."

Last June the Trinity County Board of Supervisors authorized Neil to intervene in federal court on behalf of the people facing ejection. "They're our citizens," Neil added, "and as long as they're legitimate miners, we're going to help them."

The county action has saved the miners thousands of dollars in legal fees and numerous seven-hour trips to federal court in Sacramento. Since the county intervened the miners have avoided armed confrontations with forest rangers, but bullets still fly over the Forest Service station at night.

Test case for the West?

What happens here is likely to have consequences not only in California but all over the West as well. Few people know how many mining claims are in effect in the Western states or how many miners would be affected if the ejection policy is carried out on a regional basis.

Claims are registered in county court-houses, but they're constantly being traded, bought and sold, terminated and re-recorded as new discoveries. The Forest Service estimates there are over 2,500 claims near Denny alone.

"We're not interested in the other 2,500 claims right now," says regional Forest Service officer Dave Harper. "The legitimacy of all of them should be checked at some point, but now we're looking at the 165 claims that have buildings on them."

The cost of checking every mining claim in the West could run into millions of dollars. To check 13 claims along the New River last September the government spent \$37,000. One exam required 18 peo-



Photos/Donald Monkerud

Federal law allows citizens to establish mining claims on public lands, but now the government is trying to drive out would-be miners of Trinity county, Calif.

ple, nine mules and horses, six trucks and a helicopter.

The miners in this area believe theirs is a test case. If the Forest Service successfully ejects them, they say, it will try the same tactics elsewhere, where miners are less organized.

Stronger efforts.

The miners charge that the Forest Service has resorted to stronger tactics than the mineral exams to try to drive them out. In one instance, the miners claim, the Forest Service sprayed pesticides along a riverbed, killing numerous fish and causing illness to those who drank from the river. It has also torn down cabins and sheds on various claims and, according to some miners, has been trying to use the courts to bankrupt them.

"They almost broke me," said Dick Arbo, president of the local Nor-Cal Min-

Continued on page 19.

